Sociology

Paul B. Horton
Chester L. Hunt

SIXTH EDITION

TATA McGRAW-HILL
EDITION

For sale in
India, Pakistan,
Nepal, Bangladesh,
Sri Lanka and Bhutan
Only

Tata McGraw-Hill

SOCIOLOGY

Copyright © 1984, 1980, 1976, 1972, 1968, 1964 by The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the publisher

Tata McGraw-Hill Edition 2004
Fourth reprint 2007
RAXLCRDYRAXRR
Reprinted in India by arrangement with The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., New York

Sales territories: India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Bhutan

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data
Horton, Paul B.
Sociology.
Bibliography: p.
Includes indexes.
I. Sociology I. Hunt, Chester L. II. Title.
HM51.H64 1984 301 83-12052
ISBN 0-07-030443-2

ISBN 0-07-059396-5

Published by Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company Limited,
7 West Patel Nagar, New Delhi 110 008, and printed at
Pashupati Printers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi 110 095

Copyrighted material

Contents

Preface xvii

PART ONE *Sociology and Society*

1 SOCIOLOGISTS STUDY SOCIETY 3
- Social Science and Common Sense 4
- Scientific Observation—The Basic Technique of Scientific Method 4
- The Scientific Method of Investigation 9
  - *A Research Exercise*
- Normative Methods of Investigation 12
- Sociology as a Science 13
- The Development of Sociology 14

Copyrighted material

Perspectives in Sociology 15
The Evolutionary Perspective *The Interactionist Perspective* *The Functionalist Perspective* *The Conflict Perspective* *Comparison of the Perspectives*
Some Study Suggestions 20
Summary 21
Glossary 22
Questions and Projects 22
Suggested Readings 22

2 FIELDS AND METHODS OF SOCIOLOGY 24
The Field of Sociology 25
Methods and Techniques of Sociological Research 27
Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Studies *Laboratory and Field Experiments* *Observational Studies* *The Problem of Sampling*
Disagreements in Science 36
Pure and Applied Sociology 37
Popular Sociology
The Roles of the Sociologist 38
The Sociologist as Research Scientist *The Sociologist as Policy Consultant* *The Sociologist as Technician* *The Sociologist as Teacher* *The Sociologist and Social Action*
The Study of Sociology 42
The Use of Concepts in Sociology *Careers in Sociology*
Summary 44
Glossary 45
Questions and Projects 45
Suggested Readings 46

PART TWO *Society and the Individual*

3 THE CULTURAL CONTEXT 51
Culture and Society 52
Social and Cultural Development 53
Biological Factors *Geographic Factors* *Nonhuman Social Organization*
Culture as a System of Norms 57
Folkways *Mores* *Institutions* *Laws* *Values*
The Structure of Culture 64
Cultural Traits and Complexes *Subcultures and Countercultures* *Cultural Integration* *Cultural Relativism*
Real and Ideal Culture 69
Ethnocentrism 70
Personality and Ethnocentrism *Effects of Ethnocentrism*
Xenocentrism 73
Culture and Human Adjustment 74
Culture and Biological Adjustment *Culture and Social Adjustment*
Summary 75
Glossary 76
Questions and Projects 77
Suggested Readings 78

Copyrighted material

4 PERSONALITY AND SOCIALIZATION 79
The Meaning of Personality 80
Factors in the Development of Personality 80
Biological Inheritance and Personality *Physical Environment and Personality* *Culture and Personality*
Socialization and the Self 88
Group Experience and Personality *Unique Experience and Personality*
Theories of Personality Development 94
Cooley and the Looking-Glass Self *Mead and the "Generalized Other"*
Freud and the Antisocial Self *Erikson and the Eight Stages of Life*
Piaget and Developmental Learning
Importance of Self-Image 100
Summary 101
Glossary 102
Questions and Projects 102
Suggested Readings 103

5 ROLE AND STATUS 104
Socialization through Role and Status 105
Social Roles and Personality *Role Sets* *Role Behavior*
Ascribed and Achieved Status and Role 109
Ascribed Status and Role *Achieved Status and Role*
Status Inconsistency *Role Personality and True Personality*
Role Strain 115
Inadequate Role Preparation *Role Transitional Difficulties*
Role Conflicts *Role Failure*
The Final Status: Death 123
Summary 126
Glossary 127
Questions and Projects 127
Suggested Readings 128

6 SEXUALITY AND SEX ROLES 129
Sexual Foundations of Human Social Life 130
Continuous Sexuality *Variety and Continuity*
Pliability of the Sex Drive
Sex Differences 136
Changing Sex Roles 138
Factors in Sex-Role Change
Marxist Analysis of Sexism 148
Future Sex Roles 149
Androgyny: Possible or Desirable? *Future Trends*
Summary 151
Glossary 152
Questions and Projects 152
Suggested Readings 153

7 SOCIAL ORDER AND SOCIAL CONTROL 154
Social Control 156
Social Control through Socialization *Social Control through*

Copyrighted material

Social Pressure *Social Control through Force*
Situational Determinants of Behavior
Social Deviation 167
Characteristics of Deviation *Theories of Deviation*
Freedom and Order 178
Summary 179
Glossary 180
Questions and Projects 180
Suggested Readings 181

PART THREE *Social Organization*

8 GROUPS AND ASSOCIATIONS 185
Group and Individual 187
Some Kinds of Groups 190
In-groups and Out-groups *Primary and Secondary Groups*
The Secondary-Group Trend 197
Contributions of the Gesellschaft *Persistence of Primary Groups*
Primary Groups within Secondary Groups
Group Dynamics 201
Voluntary Associations 202
Structural Features *Functions of Voluntary Associations*
Participation in Voluntary Associations *Therapeutic Self-Help Groups*
Summary 207
Glossary 207
Questions and Projects 208
Suggested Readings 208

9 SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS 210
The Institutional Concept 211
Institutions and Associations
The Development of Institutions 213
The Process of Institutionalization
Individual Roles in Institutional Behavior
Institutional Traits 216
Cultural Symbols *Codes of Behavior* *Ideologies*
Institutional Functions 218
Manifest Functions *Latent Functions*
Interrelationship of Institutions 219
Institutional Autonomy
Intellectuals and Bureaucrats 221
Role of the Intellectual *Role of the Bureaucrat*
Confidence in Institutions 226
Summary 227
Glossary 228
Questions and Projects 228
Suggested Readings 229

10 THE FAMILY 230
Structure of the Family 232

Copyrighted material

Composition of the Family Group *Marriage Variations in Family Structure*
Functions of the Family 238
The Sexual Regulation Function *The Reproductive Function* *The Socialization Function* *The Affectional Function* *The Status Definition Function* *The Protective Function* *The Economic Function*
The American Family Today 242
Changing Family Structure *Changing Family Functions* *Family Violence*
Interrelationships with Other Institutions 258
The Future of the Family 259
Summary 260
Glossary 261
Questions and Projects 262
Suggested Readings 262

11 RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS 264
Religion and Society 265
Religion as an Evolutionary Stage *Religion as the Unifying Force of Society* *Religion as the "Opiate of the People"* *Religion as a Dynamic Force*
Structures of Religious Associations 268
Ecclesia *Cult and Sect* *Denomination*
Manifest and Latent Functions of Religion 270
Manifest Functions *Latent Functions*
Interrelationship with Other Institutions 272
Religion and the Family *Religion and the Economy* *Religion and Government* *Religion and Social Action*
Religion and Social Stratification 276
Ethnicity and Religious Stratification *Ethclass Status Changes*
Contemporary Trends in Religion 279
Conflict and Ecumenicity *Persistence of Religious Institutions*
Summary 285
Glossary 286
Questions and Projects 286
Suggested Readings 287

12 EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY 289
Development of Educational Institutions 291
Structure of American Educational Institutions 291
Formal Schools *Other Institutionalized Education* *Noninstitutionalized Education* *Contest versus Sponsored Educational Mobility*
The School as a Social System 296
Interaction in the School *Student Status Systems* *Student Cliques*
Manifest Functions of Education 299
Latent Functions of Education 299
Creation of Adolescence *Weakening of Parental Control* *Preserving the Class System* *A Haven for Dissent*
Interrelationship with Other Institutions 300
Education and the Family *Education and Religion* *Education and the Politicoeconomic Institutions* *Educational Autonomy*

Copyrighted material

American Education: Success or Failure? 303
The Decline of Learning *Social-Class Differences in Learning*
Science and Technology as Institutions 307
The Irresistibility of Science and Technology
Summary 311
Glossary 311
Questions and Projects 311
Suggested Readings 312

13 POLITICAL-ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS 314
Development of Political-Economic Institutions 315
Political-Economic Institutional Patterns 318
Mixed Economies *Communist Societies* *Fascist Societies*
Politicoeconomic Systems of Developing Countries
Fascism, Communism, and Mixed Economies Compared
Manifest and Latent Functions 322
Manifest Functions *Latent Functions*
Politicoeconomic Conflict and Cooperation 322
Welfare and Conflict *Inflationary Trends* *The Underground Economy*
Ideology and the Business-Government Relationship 325
Major Economic Theorists *Ideological Change*
Power and Government 328
Organizational Power *The Power Elite* *Power of Unorganized Masses*
Direct Political Power of Masses *Coercion and Disruption*
Judicial and Bureaucratic Activism
The Emergent American Consensus: Fact or Illusion? 336
Interrelationship with Other Institutions 336
Summary 337
Glossary 338
Questions and Projects 338
Suggested Readings 339

PART FOUR *Social Stratification*

14 SOCIAL CLASS 343
What Is Social Class? 344
Determinants of Social Class *Self-identification and*
Class Consciousness *Family Patterns* *Status Symbols*
Size of Each Social Class 351
Blue-Collar and White-Collar Status 353
Social Class as a Subculture 354
The Culture of Poverty *Social Class and Social Participation*
The Significance of Social Class 356
Determining Life Chances *Happiness and Social Class*
Cultivating Class Ethnocentrism *Defining the Conventional Morality*
Explaining Many Other Group Differences *Shaping Political*
Attitudes and Life-styles *Getting the "Dirty Work" Done*
Fitting into the Better Spots

Copyrighted material

Functional and Conflict Theories of Social Class 362
The "New Class" 363
The Future of Social Classes: From "Proletariat" to "Status Seekers" 364
Summary 365
Glossary 366
Questions and Projects 366
Suggested Readings 367

15 SOCIAL MOBILITY 368
Nature of Social Mobility 369
Individual and Group Mobility *Direction of Social Mobility*
Costs and Gains of Mobility 371
Mobility Determinants 373
Structural Factors *Individual Factors* *Interaction of All Factors*
Mobility Prospects 379
Mobility of Women
Societal Mobility 380
Mobility of Developing Countries *What about Poverty?*
Mobility or Equality? 384
Summary 385
Glossary 385
Questions and Projects 386
Suggested Readings 386

16 RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS 388
Racial and Ethnic Classification 389
The Scientific View of Race Differences 390
Physical Race Differences Are Unimportant
Amalgamation and Assimilation 391
Prejudice and Discrimination 393
Genocide: The Ultimate Form of Discrimination
Approaches to Ethnic Policies 395
The Individual-Rights Approach *The Group-Rights Approach*
Implementation of Ethnic Group Rights
Separatism and Territorially Based Minorities 399
The Native Americans *The Hispanic-Americans*
Minority Mobility in the United States 404
Similarity in Minority Mobility *Black Mobility* *The Underclass*
Revisionist Thought on Minority Policies 411
Summary 413
Glossary 414
Questions and Projects 414
Suggested Readings 415

PART FIVE *Social Change and Social Policy*

17 POPULATION CHANGE 419
Changing Population Composition 421
Migration 424

Copyrighted material

Push, Pull, and Channels *International Migration* *Internal Migration*
Social and Cultural Aspects of Population Change 427
Changes in Death Rates *Age at Marriage and Sex Ratios*
Social Status and the Birthrate *Catholics and Population*
The Population Controversy 430
Malthus on Population *The Doomsday Debate*
Demographic Transition Theory *The Marxist Critique*
Population Policies 434
Pronatal Policies *Antinatal Policies* *Effects of Population Stabilization*
Prospects for the Future 437
West and Non-West Compared
Summary 442
Glossary 443
Questions and Projects 443
Suggested Readings 444

18 THE CHANGING COMMUNITY 445
The Rural Community 448
Traditional Characteristics of Rural Life *The Rural Revolution*
The Urban Community 452
The Development of Cities *The Antiurban Bias*
The Ecological Pattern of Cities *The Population Turnaround*
Urban Ecological Processes *Urban Life and Personality*
Rural and Urban Convergence 467
The Town *The Rural Nonfarmers* *The Fading Rural-Urban Distinction*
The Future of Cities 470
The Inner-City Underclass *The New Town Movement* *City Planning*
Summary 473
Glossary 473
Questions and Projects 474
Suggested Readings 474

19 COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS 476
Nature of Collective Behavior 477
Crowd Behavior 478
Contagion Theory *Convergence Theory* *Emergent Norm Theory*
Limitations on Crowd Behavior *Some Forms of Crowd Behavior*
Mass Behavior 491
The Rumor *The Fad or Fashion* *The Craze* *Mass Hysteria*
Disaster Behavior
Publics and Public Opinion 496
Measurement of Public Opinion *Manipulation of Public Opinion*
Social Movements 499
Theories of Social Movements *Kinds of Social Movements*
Life Cycles of Social Movements
Summary 505
Glossary 506
Questions and Projects 506
Suggested Readings 507

Copyrighted material

20 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE 509
Theories of Social Change 511
Evolutionary Theories *Cyclical Theories*
Functional and Conflict Theories of Change
Processes of Social Change 513
Discovery *Invention* *Diffusion*
Factors in the Rate of Change 518
Physical Environment *Population Changes* *Isolation and Contact*
Social Structure *Attitudes and Values* *Perceived Needs*
The Cultural Base
Resistance to and Acceptance of Social Change 524
Specific Attitudes and Values *Demonstrability of Inventions*
Compatibility with Existing Culture *Costs of Change*
Role of the Change Agent
The Consequences of Change 531
Social Effects of Discovery and Invention *Unequal Rates of Change*
Social Change and Social Problems *Disorganization and Demoralization*
Pains and Gains of Change
Social Planning: Can Change Be Directed? 537
Summary 538
Glossary 539
Questions and Projects 539
Suggested Readings 540

Glossary 543
Bibliography 563
Indexes 603
Name Index
Subject Index

Preface

What should an introductory sociology textbook try to do? First and most important, we believe it should capture the interest of the student and demonstrate both the process and challenge of scientific observation and analysis of social behavior in a readable and interesting way.

Second, an introductory sociology textbook should seek to cultivate in the student the habit of scientific analysis of social data. Unless students gain a sophisticated awareness of their own ethnocentrism and some ability to objectify their observations, the sociology course has failed in one of its major objectives.

Third, an introductory sociology textbook should present the basic concepts and descriptive materials of sociology clearly and intelligibly. These should be illustrated so vividly that they "come alive" and become part of the student's thinking vocabulary. Concepts should be learned not simply as definitions to be memorized but as accurate

descriptive names for the ways people act and the things people build Concepts are far more than a professional vocabulary to be used in advanced studies. They are even more important as tools for identifying and understanding a process or idea Many sociology students will find that the introductory course is a terminal course as well, and the basic concepts should be tools for continuing social observation and analysis

In this textbook we have tried to do these things Whether we have succeeded is for the reader to judge We have generally avoided esoteric sources in favor of others more easily available to most students We have often used literary and popular sources for purposes of illustration We have done this to emphasize that sociology is the disciplined observation and analysis of everyday life and that the concepts and insights of sociology are applicable to all that goes on around the student

We note that some recent textbooks contain very few footnotes or citations It is true that footnotes and citations do clutter up a book But we believe that students should constantly be reminded of the evidential basis for the conclusions of sociology Therefore, we have documented heavily in order to present sociology as a scientific and scholarly discipline, not as an exercise in popular journalism

We have sought to incorporate recent research in this new edition but have not slavishly deleted significant earlier research and theory simply to gain a more current dateline We seek to describe new and controversial developments in sociology analytically and objectively, in the belief that advocacy and espousal are not proper in an introductory textbook

We have tried to minimize the overlap with other sociology courses. This textbook is not an encapsulated encyclopedia of the entire sociology curriculum We have intentionally not emphasized "social problems" material in the belief that the introductory course should concentrate upon principles and concepts and should leave specialized topics and problem-oriented materials for later courses

In this sixth edition we have deleted very few topics, but many sections have been rewritten in condensed form to make room for new topics and materials We have somewhat reordered the chapter sequence, have reorganized some chapters, and have given greater attention to the interactionist and conflict perspectives

The accompanying *Study Guide and Source Book* has again been revised by Bruce J Cohen Many students find it helpful in study and review as a source of related materials and as a yardstick to measure their mastery of the text materials An *Instructor's Resource Manual* prepared again by Bobbie Wright and Steven Severin is again available as a teaching aid Other supplements include a Test Bank keyed to the Micro Examiner System

We owe a debt of appreciation to many people to a number of our colleagues for helpful suggestions to the sociologist-reviewers, George H Benziger, Erie Community College, David Brinkerhoff University of Nebraska, Brindaban Chaubey, Shippensburg State College Richard Della Fave North Carolina State University, Thomas E Drabek, University of Denver William Egelman, Iona College Larry Horn Los Angeles Pierce College Dennis McGrath Community College of Philadelphia, James Orcutt Florida State University James C Petersen Western Michigan University Marcella Rainey Black Hawk College, Laurel Richardson The Ohio

State University C Edward Roy, Brevard College; Bobbie Wright Thomas Nelson Community College; and Lloyd R Young, Southwest Missouri State University, for their candid criticisms of our manuscript, to McGraw-Hill editors and staff members for their dedicated competence, and to Frederick J Ashby for his imaginative line drawings

Paul B. Horton
Chester L. Hunt

Sociology and Society

We are uncertain whether our prehistoric human ancestors knew that they lived in a *society*, but we suspect that they did. From cave excavations and rock paintings we know that they lived in family groups, laid out their dead for burial and apparently believed in an afterlife. But of the rest of their social life, we know practically nothing.

For at least as long as we have had written language, we have speculated about the nature of the human animal and the societies it builds. But only within the past few generations has there been any systematic study of human societies, ancient or modern. Social scientists have developed a number of procedures through which they try to find verifiable knowledge about the social behavior of the human animal. People have sought knowledge from many sources, some dependable, some undependable. Science as a method of finding dependable knowledge about society is discussed in Chapter 1, "Sociologists Study Society." All phenomena can be studied scientifically, but the techniques of study must be fitted to the materials studied. Just how sociologists use scientific methods in sociological investigation is discussed in Chapter 2, "Fields and Methods of Sociology."

1 Sociologists Study Society

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND COMMON SENSE
SCIENTIFIC OBSERVATION—THE BASIC TECHNIQUE OF SCIENTIFIC METHOD
THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD OF INVESTIGATION
A Research Exercise
NORMATIVE METHODS OF INVESTIGATION
SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY
The Evolutionary Perspective
The Interactionist Perspective
The Functionalist Perspective
The Conflict Perspective
Comparison of the Perspectives
SOME STUDY SUGGESTIONS
SUMMARY
GLOSSARY
QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS
SUGGESTED READINGS

Sociology and Society

Sociology: The intellectual discipline concerned with developing systematic, reliable knowledge about human social relations in general and about the products of such relationships

(Thomas Ford Hoult *Dictionary of Modern Sociology*, Littlefield, Adams & Co. Totowa, New Jersey 1969 p. 307.)

Sociologists study human society and social behavior by examining the groups that people form. These groups include families, tribes, communities and governments, as well as a great variety of social, religious, political, business, and other organizations. Sociologists study the behavior and interaction of groups, trace their origin and growth, and analyze the influence of group activities on individual members.

(*Occupational Outlook Handbook, 1980–1981*, U.S. Department of Labor, 1980 431)

Sociology is the taking of what everyone knows and putting it into words that nobody can understand

(Anonymous)

For thousands of years people's common sense told them that the earth was flat, that big objects fell faster than small ones, and that character was revealed in facial features, yet today we know none of these is true. Today, science is replacing common sense as a source of dependable knowledge.

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND COMMON SENSE

When we do not know where our ideas come from or what they are based on, we sometimes call them "common sense." If we call them common sense, we do not have to prove they are true, for then others will join us in the collective self-deception of assuming they have already been proved. If one presses for proof, one is told that the idea has been proved by experience. The term "common sense" puts a respectable front on all sorts of ideas for which there is no systematic body of evidence that can be cited.

What often passes for common sense consists of a group's accumulation of collective guesses, hunches, and haphazard trial-and-error learnings. Many common-sense propositions are sound, earthy, useful bits of knowledge. "A soft answer turneth away wrath," and "birds of a feather flock together," are practical observations on social life. But many common-sense conclusions are based on ignorance, prejudice, and mistaken interpretation. When medieval Europeans noticed that feverish patients were free of lice while most healthy people were lousy, they made the common-sense conclusion that lice would cure fever and therefore sprinkled lice over feverish patients. Common sense thus preserves both folk wisdom and folk nonsense, and to sort out one from the other is a task for science.

Only within the past two or three hundred years has the scientific method become a common way of seeking answers about the natural world. Science has become a source of knowledge about our *social* world even more recently; yet in the brief period since we began to use the scientific method, we have learned more about our world than had been learned in the preceding ten thousand years. The spectacular explosion of knowledge in the modern world parallels our use of the scientific method. How does this scientific method operate?

SCIENTIFIC OBSERVATION— THE BASIC TECHNIQUE OF SCIENTIFIC METHOD

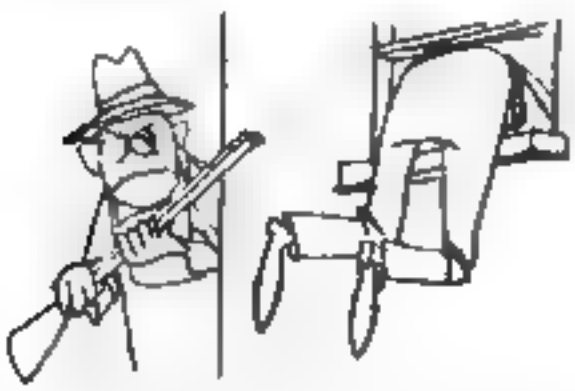
Science is based upon *verifiable evidence*. By "evidence" we mean factual observations other observers can see, weigh, count, and check for accuracy. Scientific observation is not the

Common sense tells us:	Scientific investigation finds that
Men survive hardship and exposure better than women.	Women survive hardship as well as or better than men.
Colds are caused by chills and wet feet.	Colds are caused by viruses, although exposure may lower resistance.
One's character shows in one's face.	There is no dependable association between facial features and personality characteristics.
A person who cheats at cards will cheat in business.	Honesty in one situation tells little about one's behavior in a different situation.
Spare the rod and spoil the child.	Serious delinquents usually have been punished more severely than most nondelinquents.
The genius or near-genius is generally delicate, impractical, unstable, and unsuccessful.	The genius and near-genius group is above average in health, emotional adjustment, and income.
Blacks are especially talented in music but inferior in intellect.	There is no convincing evidence of racial differences in innate capacities.

same as just "looking at things." We have all been looking at things all our lives, but this does not make us scientific observers, any more than a lifetime of swatting flies makes us entomologists. How does scientific observation differ from just looking at things?

Scientific observation is accurate. The scientific observer tries to make sure things are exactly as described and avoids jumping to conclusions. Novelists may fantasize and politicians may exaggerate, but the scientist must try to be accurate.

Scientific observation is precise. While accuracy refers to the truth or correctness of a statement, precision refers to degree or measurement. No respectable social scientist would say, "I interviewed a lot of people, and most of them feel that things are terrible," and claim this was a scientific investigation. (How many people? What measuring instruments? How "terrible"?)



Evidence consists of verifiable facts.

Since scientific writing is precise, scientists avoid colorful literary extravagances. Tennyson's lines, "Every moment dies a man, every moment one is born," is literature not science. If written with scientific precision it might read, "Every 0.596 seconds, on the average in 1980, died a person; every 0.2448 seconds an infant was born." Literary writing may be intentionally vague, stimulating the reader to wonder what is meant (e.g., was Hamlet insane?), but the dramatic sweep of the novelist and the provocative imagery of the poet have no place in scientific writing.

How much precision is needed? A billionth of an inch is too large an error for a nuclear physicist; for a social scientist studying crowded housing, a measure to the nearest square foot is satisfactory. Scientists seek *as much precision as the situation requires.* If conditions of observation do not permit such precision, the scientist must qualify judgment until more precise observations can be collected.

Scientific observation is systematic. Conclusions based on casual recollections are unreliable. Judgments which begin with, "I've talked to a lot of people and . . ." should be classed as conversation not as research. Unless observations have been collected in an

Objectivity is the ability to see and accept facts as they are, not as one might wish them to be.

organized, systematic program, they are likely to be spotty and incomplete.

Scientific observation is recorded. Human memory is notoriously fallible. Suppose a professor says, "Women usually don't do as well in this course as men." Unless this professor has computed average scores for men and women students, he is saying, "I have recalled the grades of hundreds of students, mentally computed averages, and found the male average score to be higher." The utter absurdity of such a statement shows how untrustworthy are all conclusions based upon recalling unrecorded data.

Scientific observation is objective. This means that, insofar as is humanly possible, observation is unaffected by the observer's own belief, preferences, wishes, or values. In other words, *objectivity* means the *ability to see and accept facts as they are, not as one might wish them to be.* It is fairly easy to be objective when observing something about which we have no preferences or values. It is fairly easy to study objectively the mating practices of the fruit fly, but less easy to view the mating practices of the human being with objective detachment. On any matter where our emotions, beliefs, habits, and values are involved, we are likely to see whatever agrees with our emotional needs and values

To be objective is perhaps the most taxing of all scientific obligations. It is not enough to be willing to see facts as they are. We must know what our biases are if we are to guard against them. A *bias* is simply a *tendency, usually unconscious, to see facts in a certain way because of one's habits, wishes, interests, and values.* Thus, a "peace demonstration" is seen by some as a courageous effort to save the world from collective suicide, while others see it as a misguided effort to replace hard-headed realism with idealistic mush

Seldom are "the facts" so undebatable that bias does not distort them *Selective perception is a tendency to see or hear only those facts which support our beliefs and overlook others.* Many experiments have shown that most people in a social situation will see and hear only what they expect to see and hear If what we expect to see isn't there, we see it anyway! This is dramatically shown in a famous experiment [Allport and Postman, 1947] in which observers were shown a picture of a roughly dressed white man holding an open razor and arguing violently with a well-dressed black man who was shown in an apologetic, conciliatory posture; then the observers were asked to describe the scene Some of them "saw" the razor in the black man's hand, where they expected it to be Others perceived it correctly, but in passing on a description of the scene (A described it to B, who described it to C, and so on), they soon had the razor in the black man's hand, where it "belonged." Even though they were not emotionally involved in the situation, had ample time to study it, and were making a conscious effort to be accurate in what they saw and reported or heard, the observers' unconscious biases still led many of them to "see" or "hear" a fact that wasn't there

Some common threats to objectivity, then, are vested interest, habit, and bias. Objectivity does not come easily to an observer, but it can be learned. One can become more objective as one becomes aware of personal biases and makes allowance for them Through rigorous training in scientific methodology, through studying many experiments and not-

ing many examples of objective and nonobjective uses of data, an observer may eventually develop some ability to cut through many layers of self-deception and to perceive facts with a greater degree of scientific objectivity. The scientist also has another powerful ally—the criticism of colleagues. The scientist publishes research so that it may be checked by other scientists who may not share the same biases and who come to the problem with a different point of view. This process of publication and criticism means that shoddy work is soon exposed, and scientists who let bias dictate the uses of data are open to severe criticism

Scientific observations are made by trained observers. A billion people watch the sun and moon sweep across the sky, but more sophisticated observers know that is not exactly what happens. Untrained observers do not know what to look for or how to interpret it They do not know the pitfalls which lead to inaccurate observation, nor are they fully aware of the tricks their own limitations and biases may play on them. Startling reports of weird phenomena generally come from uneducated, unsophisticated persons, and are discounted by the experts. When some remarkable observations are reported, the scientist will want to know: (1) What is the observer's general level of education and sophistication? Is this person a member of a superstition-ridden folk group, or of a well-informed and somewhat skeptical population? (2) What is his or her special knowledge or training in this particular field? Does this observer have the knowledge to tell whether this event has a perfectly natural explanation? Thus, the biologist among the ship's passengers is less likely to see a sea monster than are the members of the crew, and the meteorologist sees fewer UFOs than people with no special knowledge of atmospheric phenomena.

In recent years public interest in psychic and occult phenomena has exploded. A book claiming that plants have consciousness and are responsive to human feelings has been a best-seller [Tompkins and Bird, 1973], although scientists are generally unimpressed [First, 1973], and there are no authenticated reports that anyone has yet "hated" the crabgrass out of the lawn. A one-time stage magician, Uri Geller, has attracted great attention as a psychic and has even impressed a team of physicists at Stanford Research Institute [*Science News*, July 20, 1974, p. 46] But physicists and other scientists, whatever their credentials as scientists, are *not* trained observers of sleight-of-hand deception. Stage

We have reported before on Bigfoot and Bighead, and now it is Skunkfoot who joins the company A 7-foot monster, described by *The Globe* as having "an unbelievably bad case of body odor," has reportedly been terrifying the residents of Chesapeake, Virginia, near the Great Dismal Swamp, where the creature presumably resides One man who claims to have seen it a dozen times says, "To give you an idea of how bad it smells, imagine falling into a cesspool up to your shoulders " To make matters worse, the tabloid *Weekly World News* adds that the creature is "amorous," causing local women to "live in terror." One witness, Sherry Davis, says that she thinks the creature is attracted to women. "Maybe it oozes out of the swamp at night and goes prowling the woods looking for a female," hypothesized another terrified resident. Almost all of the witnesses have been women, prompting Mrs. Davis to add that she is afraid to walk alone now, for fear of being "carried off into the woods by that thing "

(*The Skeptical Inquirer*, Vol. VI, No. 3, Spring 1982, p. 13

How should the critical student evaluate such popular sensationalist accounts as this? Why are they so readily believed by many people?

magicians consider scientists as easy to fool as anyone else, and generally dismiss Geller and other psychics as showmen with no psychic powers [Weil, 1974, Randi, 1975, 1982; Gardner, 1981]. Obviously, a "trained observer" must be trained in the particular kind of observation he or she is conducting.

Many events happen without any scientific observer on the sidelines. If each sea monster broke water before a panel of ichthyologists, and each revolution were staged before a team of visiting sociologists, our knowledge would be far more complete. But for many phenomena the only reports we have are the casual impressions of untrained observers who happened to be there; these reports may be interesting and possibly useful, but must be interpreted most cautiously by scientists.

Scientific observations are made under controlled conditions. Laboratories are popular with scientists because they are handy places to control variables such as heat, light, air pressure, time intervals, or whatever is important. A *variable* is anything which varies from case to case. For example, people vary in height, weight, age, sex, race, religion, education, occupation, income, health, behavior characteristics, and many other things.

We have a scientific experiment when we *control all important variables except one*, then see what happens when that one is varied. Unless all variables except one have been controlled, we cannot be sure which variable has produced the results. If we wish to study, say, the effects of phosphates on plant growth, all other factors—seed, soil, water, sunlight, temperature, humidity—must be the same for all the sample plots; then the varying amounts of phosphates on different test plots can be held responsible for different growth rates. This is the basic technique in all scientific experimentation—allow one variable to vary while holding all other variables constant.

There are complicated statistical procedures for *multivariate analysis* which enable the researcher to work with two or more variables at a time. But this is only a refinement of the basic procedure of holding all other variables constant in order to measure the impact of the one (or more) under study.

Failure to control all variables is a most common error in scientific method and accounts for most false conclusions. For example, a number of studies several decades ago concluded that the employment of mothers increased child delinquency. But these studies failed to control for the variables of social class and family composition. A sample of working mothers who were mostly poor, uneducated, often widowed or separated, and living in wretched neighborhoods, was compared with a sample of nonworking mothers who were more prosperous, better educated, and living with their husbands in good neighborhoods. No wonder they found strong association between maternal employment and child delinquency which more recent research does not fully confirm (See Chapter 10). Failure to control some variable—social class, education, age, and occupation are common ones—has invalidated many research studies.

Since laboratories are such convenient places to control the conditions of observation, scientists use them whenever possible. But much that is important cannot be dragged into a laboratory. Volcanoes and earthquakes can-

Spiritualists can conduct a very convincing seance in their own stage setting.

not be staged in a test tube, nor can we study the courtship process very realistically by herding couples into a laboratory Both physical and social scientists frequently must observe phenomena in their natural setting. Techniques may range from lowering a bathysphere to the ocean floor to giving a questionnaire to a group of army recruits If we remember that the basic scientific procedure is the conducting of accurate observations, while laboratories, instruments, and computers are merely *tools* of observation, this difference in technique will not confuse us.

The scientific critic will trust a reported observation only insofar as the conditions of observation have been controlled. On this basis scientists are skeptical of the claims of spiritualism and mind reading. Spiritualists can conduct a very convincing séance in their own stage setting but are loath to attempt a séance where the room, furnishings, and lighting are controlled by the scientist. The professional mind reader is very convincing in a theater setting but is unwilling to attempt a reading under scientifically controlled conditions. Until spiritualists and mind readers make demonstrations under conditions which preclude the possibility of deception, scientists should dismiss them as either entertainers or frauds

Is it not strange that most of those who claim to foresee the future are performing in shabby carnivals and nightclubs instead of raking in millions in Wall Street? Why has no professed mind reader ever won a world chess or bridge championship? Although there are occasional newspaper reports of some psychic having "solved" a crime, is it not significant that police departments and intelligence agencies do not routinely employ psychic detectives? Although many exposés of the tricks of psychics, mentalists, fortune tellers, astrologers, and spiritualists have been published (Barber and Meeker, 1974, Abell and Singer, 1981), their popular following today seems greater than at any time in recent history.[1]

In these several respects, then, scientific observation differs from looking at things We spend our lives looking at things, and this activity brings us much information, many impressions, and numerous conclusions. But these conclusions are clouded by accident of coincidence, by selective memory, and by personal bias. Therefore, before accepting any generalization as true, the critical observer wants to know what it is based upon. Is a conclusion based upon a systematically collected body of scientific evidence, or is it an offhand reaction to haphazard observation?

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

The scientific method (some would prefer to say scientific methods) includes a great deal The scientist must accumulate considerable background information on the problem. Then he or she formulates a *hypothesis*. This is a carefully considered theoretical statement which seeks to relate all the *known* facts to one another in a logical manner The hypothesis is then tested by scientific research. For example, the hypothesis that cancer is a virus disease is based upon a great deal of observation; it relates known facts in a logical manner, and is now being tested through many research projects. Eventually a hypothesis is confirmed, rejected, or revised, and in this manner a science grows.

There are several steps in scientific research. They are easy to list but not always easy to follow

[1] An academic journal, *The Skeptical Inquirer* founded by the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal (Box 29 Kensington Station, Buffalo, N.Y. 14213). accepts articles which either attack or defend astrology, psychic phenomena. and other exotic belief systems Since it accepts only articles which meet acceptable scientific standards of evidence and logic, most of its articles are critical rather than supportive

Sociologists may observe social events as they are taking place.
(*United Press International*)

1 *Define the problem.* We need a problem which is worth study and which can be studied through the methods of science.

2 *Review the literature.* It would be a waste of time to repeat the errors of other research scholars. A survey of whatever research has been done on this problem is in order.

3 *Formulate the hypotheses.* Develop one or more formal propositions which can be tested.

4 *Plan the research design,* outlining just what is to be studied, what data will be sought, and where and how they will be collected, processed, and analyzed.

5 *Collect the data* in accordance with the research design. Often it will be necessary to change the design to meet some unforeseen difficulty.

6 *Analyze the data.* Classify, tabulate, and compare the data, making whatever tests and computations are necessary to help find the results.

7 *Draw conclusions.* Was the original hypothesis confirmed or rejected? Or were the results inconclusive? What has this research added to our knowledge? What implications has it for sociological theory? What new questions and suggestions for further research have arisen from this investigation?

8 *Replicate the study.* The seven steps above complete a single research study, but research findings are confirmed by replication. When another scholar repeats the study, using a different sample, the original findings may or may not be confirmed. Only after several confirmations, and no disconfirmations, can a research conclusion be accepted as generally true.

A Research Exercise

Let us see how a research study might be designed and completed. First, we need a

AN EXAMPLE OF A REPLICATION STUDY

Recent research by Phillips suggested that publicized suicide stories triggered a rise in suicides some of which were disguised as motor vehicle fatalities (MVF). The most striking finding of his research was a 31% jump in California MVF on the third day after publicized suicide stories. Yet, until they are replicated, we do not know whether these results are limited to: (1) California, (2) the time period studied (1966–73), or (3) the method of analysis used. In this research note we replicate Phillips's California analysis with Detroit metropolitan data for 1973–76. We use two different statistical techniques to insure that Phillips's findings are not an artifact of his method of analysis. We find a 35%–40% increase in Detroit MVF on the third day after the publicized suicide story. Our replication suggests that Phillips's most striking result—the third-day peak in MVF—is not limited to a particular geographic region, time period, or technique of analysis.

This is a research abstract, a very condensed summary of a research study which immediately precedes the full article in many research journals. This one preceded Kenneth A. Bollen and David P. Phillips, "Suicidal Motor Vehicle Fatalities in Detroit: A Replication," *American Journal of Sociology* 87:404–412, September 1981. Copyright © by the University of Chicago. Reprinted by permission of the *American Journal of Sociology* and the author.

research problem. How about, "Does the commuting student miss much by not being on campus?"

As stated, this question covers too many topics. We need something more limited and more specific. How about, "Do commuting students suffer academically by not living on or near campus?"

The review of the literature, the second step, may turn up very little, but the card catalog and the relevant indexes should be checked. For this question the *Education Index*, *Social Science Index*, index to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and possibly the *New York Times Index* would be good prospects, also *Sociological Abstracts*. Every possible heading should be checked, such as higher education, colleges and universities, college students—housing, academic progress, and any others that turn up as likely subheadings. This search of the literature is extremely important.

The third step is to formulate one or more hypotheses. One might be, "Commuting undergraduate students receive lower grades than undergraduate students living on campus" or "living off but within one mile of the campus." Other hypotheses might be that commuting students "earn fewer credit hours per year," or "take part in fewer college activities," or "have fewer friends among other students."

Planning the research design is the fourth step. All terms and categories must be designed. The variables to be controlled must be decided. We must be sure that the two groups we compare are similar in all important respects except residence. We must select sources of data, kinds of data sought, and procedures for collecting and processing them. If a research grant is to be sought, all this information must be included in the grant application.

The fifth step, the actual collecting and processing of data according to the research design, is often the most exciting part of the project. In this instance the data on each person would be made "computer sensible" (prepared for computer processing) and fed through the computer, which is programmed to make the desired computations and comparisons.

The sixth step is to analyze the data. What contrasts between the two groups appear on the printout? Often, during this stage, some unexpected surprises will suggest additional hypotheses, and the data will be fed through

Personal interviews are one kind of sociological data. (*Teri Leigh Stratford/Photo Researchers, Inc.*)

the computer again for additional computations.

The seventh step is the drawing of conclusions. Were the hypotheses confirmed or disconfirmed? What further study is suggested by this research? What difference does it all make? Finally, other scientists will undertake replication studies.

This basic procedure is the same for all scientific research. Techniques used will vary according to the problem studied, but the same basic method is central to all sciences.

Not all research involves this formal model of hypothesis framing and testing. Some research involves analysis of data already collected, and some involves library research of published sources. But anything involving the careful, objective collecting of verifiable evidence in the search for knowledge is scientific research.

NORMATIVE METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

The term *normative* means "conforming to or supporting some norm or pattern." The scientific method of investigation consists of stating a question, collecting evidence, and drawing conclusions from the evidence, however surprising or unwelcome they may be. The normative method, by contrast, states the question in such a way that the conclusion is implied, and then looks for evidence in support of this conclusion. This is the method of "investigation" which most people use most of the time, and which even scientists sometimes fall into. For example, the question, "How does the traditional family thwart emotional growth?" (or, conversely, "How does the traditional family promote emotional growth?") really states a conclusion and asks for evidence to support it. Most popular thinking and a good deal of scientific research is normative, for it is a search for evidence to support a conclusion already assumed. Much Marxian scholarship is normative, for it begins with the conclusion that class oppression is the cause of most social ills. Much conservative scholarship is equally normative, for it begins with the conclusion that most social ills stem from the personal defects and failings

> No crank wants, or will accept, an honest criticism of anything. He has solved the "problem," whatever it is, and is looking for an endorsement. . . . Whatever else cranks may be up to, after one deals with several it becomes clear that they are not really interested in doing science. They are not prepared to accept the rough-and-tumble of scientific criticism; any criticism is regarded as provocation and a threat.
>
> (*Jeremy Bernstein, "Scientific Cranks: How to Recognize One and What to Do Until the Doctor Arrives," American Scholar, 47 13, Winter 1977–1978.*)

Studies of twins are one way of separating what is inherited from what is learned. (*Rita Freed/Nancy Palmer Photo Agency*)

of the individuals involved, and the actual "research" consists of an effort to identify these failings. The findings of normative research are not necessarily "wrong," but they are always incomplete, because the researcher looks for only the kinds of evidence which support the preconceived conclusion.

SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE

A science may be defined in at least two ways: (1) a science is a body of organized, verified knowledge which has been secured through scientific investigation; (2) a science is a method of study whereby a body of organized, verified knowledge is discovered. These are, of course, two ways of saying much the same thing.

If the first definition is accepted, then sociology is a science *to the extent that it develops a body of organized, verified knowledge* which is based on scientific investigation. To the extent that sociology forsakes myth, folklore, and wishful thinking and bases its conclusions on scientific evidence, it is a science. If science

is defined as a method of study, then sociology is a science *to the extent that it uses scientific methods of study* All natural phenomena can be studied scientifically, if one is willing to use scientific methods. Any kind of behavior—whether of atoms, animals, or adolescents—is a proper field for scientific study

During human history, few of our actions have been based on verified knowledge, for people through the ages have been guided mainly by folklore, habit, and guesswork. Until a few centuries ago, very few people accepted the idea that we should find out about the natural world by systematic observation of the natural world itself, rather than by consulting oracles, ancestors, or intuition. This new idea created the modern world A few decades ago we began acting on the assumption that this same approach might also give useful knowledge about human social life. Just how far we have replaced folklore with knowledge in this area will be explored in the chapters which follow

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Sociology is the youngest of the recognized social sciences. Auguste Comte in France coined the word "sociology" in his *Positive Philosophy*, published in 1838. He believed that a science of sociology should be based on systematic observation and classification, not on authority and speculation. This was a relatively new idea at that time. Herbert Spencer in England published his *Principles of Sociology* in 1876. He applied the theory of organic evolution to human society and developed a grand theory of "social evolution" which was widely accepted for several decades. Lester F Ward, an American, published his *Dynamic Sociology* in 1883, calling for social progress through intelligent social action which sociologists should guide. All these founders of sociology were basically social philosophers. They proclaimed that sociologists should collect, organize, and classify factual data, and derive sound social theories from these facts, but very often their own method was to think out a grand system of theory and then seek facts to support it. So while they called for scientific investigation, they did relatively little of it themselves. Yet they took the necessary first steps, for the *idea* of a science of sociology had to precede the building of one.

A Frenchman, Émile Durkheim, gave the most notable early demonstration of scientific methodology in sociology. In his *Rules of Sociological Method*, published in 1895, he outlined the methodology which he pursued in his study *Suicide*, published in 1897. Instead of *speculating* upon the causes of suicide, he first planned his research design, and then collected a large mass of data on the characteristics of people who commit suicide, and then derived a theory of suicide from these data

Courses in sociology appeared in many universities in the 1890s. The *American Journal of Sociology* began publication in 1895, and the American Sociological Society (now the American Sociological Association) was organized in 1905. Whereas most of the early European sociologists came from the fields of history, political economy, or philosophy, many of the early American sociologists had been social workers, ministers, or ministers' sons, and nearly all were from rural backgrounds. Urbanization and industrialization were creating grave social problems, and these early sociologists were groping for "scientific" solutions. They saw sociology as a scientific guide to social progress. The early volumes of the *American Journal of Sociology* contained relatively few articles devoted to scientific description or research but carried many sermons filled with exhortation and advice. For example, a fairly typical article in 1903, "The Social Effects of the Eight Hour Day," contains no factual or experimental data but is entirely devoted to a recital of all the social benefits

which the writer assures us will follow from the shorter working day [McVay, 1903]. But by the 1930s the several sociological journals were well filled with research articles and scientific descriptions. Sociology was becoming a body of scientific knowledge, with its theories based upon scientific observation rather than upon armchair speculation or impressionistic observation.

PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY

In order to study anything, one must begin by making some assumptions about the nature of what is studied. For example, the ancient Greeks believed that the universe was run according to the whims of the gods. By contrast, all scientists assume that the universe is orderly, and operates in certain regular ways which we may be able to discover Thus, Newton developed the laws of gravity after observing that apples always fall down, never up. A working set of assumptions is called a "perspective," an "approach," or sometimes a "paradigm." What are some of the perspectives used in sociology?

The Evolutionary Perspective

The evolutionary perspective is the earliest theoretical perspective in sociology. Based on the work of August Comte (1798–1857) and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), it seemed to offer a satisfying explanation of how human societies originate and grow. After a few decades it fell from favor, and is now once again becoming fashionable

Sociologists using the evolutionary perspective look for patterns of change and development appearing in different societies, to see whether any general sequences can be found. They might wonder, for example, whether Chinese Communism will develop in the same way as Russian Communism, which gained power three decades earlier, or whether industrialization will have the same effects upon the family in developing countries that it seems to have had in Western nations. While not the major perspective in sociology, the evolutionary perspective is an active one

The Interactionist Perspective

The interactionist perspective suggests no grand theories of society, since "society," "the state," and "social institutions" are conceptual abstractions, while only people and their interaction can be studied directly

Symbolic interactionists such as G H. Mead (1863–1931) and C. H Cooley (1846–1929) concentrate upon this interaction between individuals and groups. They note that people interact mainly through *symbols*, which include signs, gestures, and most importantly, through written and spoken words. A word has no inherent meaning. It is simply a noise, but it becomes a *word* when people reach agreement that this noise carries a special meaning. Thus "yes," "no," "go," "come," and thousands of other sounds became symbols as a meaning is attached to each. Although some meanings can be exchanged without words, as all lovers know, most meanings are exchanged through spoken or written words.

People do not respond to the world directly; they respond to meanings they impute to the things and happenings around them. a traffic light, a lineup at a ticket window, a police officer's whistle and hand signal. An early sociologist, W. I Thomas (1863–1947), coined the phrase, *definition of the situation*, noting that we can act sensibly only after we decide what kind of situation it is [Thomas, 1937, p. 9] If a man approaches with right hand extended, we define this as a friendly greeting; if he approaches with clenched fists, we define the situation differently. The person who misdefines situations and tries to run when he should make love, or vice versa, is a stock comic figure But in real life, failure to define behavior situations correctly and

make appropriate responses can have unhappy consequences.

As Berger and Luckmann state in their *Social Construction of Reality* [1966], society is an *objective reality*, in that people, groups, and institutions are *real*, regardless of our perceptions of them. But society is also a *subjective reality*, in that for each person, the other persons, groups, and institutions are whatever that person perceives them as being. Whether most people are pretty nice or pretty nasty, whether the police are protectors or oppressors, whether corporations serve common interests or selfish interests—these are perceptions which persons form from their own experiences, and these perceptions become "the way it is" for persons holding them.

Modern interactionists such as Erving Goffman [1959] and Herbert Blumer [1962] emphasize that people do not respond to other people directly; instead, they respond to whatever they *imagine* other people to be. In human behavior, "reality" is not something that is just "out there" like the curbs and sidewalks along the street; "reality" is constructed in peoples' minds as they size one another up and guess at the feelings and impulses of one another. Whether a person is a friend, an enemy, or a stranger is not a characteristic of the person, that person is, to me, whatever I perceive him as being, at least until I change my perception. Whether he is good or bad is measured by my perception of him. Thus, I create reality about him in my own mind, and then I react to this reality that I have constructed. This "social construction of reality" proceeds continuously as people define the feelings and intentions of others. Thus the "people" with whom we interact are, to some extent, creatures of our own imagination. Whenever two groups, such as workers and management, arrive at sets of firmly held opinions about each other, such a "social construction of reality" has taken place. In like manner, situations are defined by us, and become part of the "reality" to which we respond. Whether a new rule is a protection or an oppression is measured by our definition of it.

This does not mean that *all* reality is subjective—that it exists *only* in the mind. There *are* objective facts in the universe. The sun, moon, and stars are real, and still would be "out there" even if there were no humans to see them. Human beings are real; they get born and they die; they take actions which have consequences. But a fact has no meaning of itself. *Meanings* are given to facts and to human actions by human beings. The symbolic interactionist perspective concentrates upon what meanings people find in other people's actions, how these meanings are derived, and how others respond to them. The interactionist perspective has brought a great deal of insight into personality development and human behavior. It has been less helpful in the study of large groups and social institutions.

The Functionalist Perspective

In this perspective a society is seen as an organized network of cooperating groups operating in a fairly orderly manner according to a set of rules and values shared by most members. Society is seen as a stable system with a tendency toward equilibrium, that is, a tendency to maintain a balanced, harmoniously operating system.

In the functionalist perspective, with Talcott Parsons [1937], Kingsley Davis [1937], and Robert Merton [1957] as the most prominent spokesmen, each group or institution fulfills certain functions and persists because it is *functional*. Thus, the school educates children, prepares workers, takes children off their parents' hands for part of the day, and provides spectator sports events for the community, among other things.

Behavior patterns arise because they are functionally useful. On the American frontier, where there were few inns and fewer people with money for them, a hospitality pattern

developed. The traveling family were welcome guests of the nearest settlers wherever night fell upon them. The travelers brought news and a break in monotony; the host provided food and shelter. As the frontier became settled, the hospitality pattern became unnecessary and it declined. Thus patterns arise to meet needs and pass when the needs change

Social change disrupts the stable equilibrium of the society, but before long a new equilibrium is regained. For example, large families were desired throughout most of history. Death rates were high, and large families helped to ensure some survivors. Especially in America, with a continent to fill, and with never enough hands to do the work, large families were functionally useful. They provided workers, companionship, and old-age security and were good for both the individual and the society. Today, in a crowded world with a lower death rate, large families are no longer a blessing. In other words, large families have become dysfunctional and threaten the welfare of the society. So a new equilibrium is approaching in which, instead of high death rates and high birth rates, we shall (hopefully) have low death rates and low birth rates. Thus, a value or practice which is functional at one time or place may become dysfunctional—interfering with the smooth operation of society—at another time or place.

If a particular social change promotes a harmonious equilibrium, it is seen as functional; if it disrupts the equilibrium, it is dysfunctional; if it has no effects, it is nonfunctional In a democracy political parties are functional while bombings, assassinations, and political terrorism are dysfunctional, and changes in political vocabulary or party insignia are nonfunctional.

Functionalists ask such questions as, "How does this value, practice, or institution help meet the needs of the society?" "How does it fit in with the other practices and institutions of the society?" "Would a proposed change make it more or less useful to the society?"

The Conflict Perspective

Although it stems from the work of many scholars, the conflict perspective is most directly based upon the work of Karl Marx (1818–1883), who saw class conflict and class exploitation as the prime moving forces in history Largely ignored by sociologists for many years, the conflict perspective has recently been revived by C Wright Mills [1956, 1959], Lewis Coser [1956], and others [Aron, 1957; Dahrendorf, 1959, 1964, Chambliss, 1973, Collins, 1975] Where functionalists see the normal state of society as one of stable equilibrium, conflict theorists see society as in a continuous state of conflict between groups and classes. Although Marx concentrated upon conflict between classes for ownership of productive wealth, modern conflict theorists take a less narrow view. They see the struggle for power and income as a continuous process but one in which many categories of people appear as opponents—classes, races, nationalities, and even the sexes.

Conflict theorists see a society as held together through the power of dominant groups or classes. They claim that the "shared values" which functionalists see as the glue holding society together do not really form a true consensus; instead this is an artificial consensus in which the dominant groups or classes impose their values and rules upon the rest of the people. According to conflict theorists, functionalists fail to ask the question, "functionally useful to *whom*?" Conflict theorists accuse functionalists of a conservative bias, in that functionalists assume that this "harmonious equilibrium" is beneficial to everyone, whereas it benefits some and penalizes others. Conflict theorists see the harmonious equilibrium of society as an illusion held by those who fail to see how the dominant groups have silenced those whom they exploit.

TABLE 1-1
TWO MAJOR PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY

Perception of:	Functionalist theory	Conflict theory
Society	A stable system of cooperating groups.	An unstable system of opposing groups and classes.
Social class	A status level of persons sharing similar incomes and life-styles. Develops from different roles persons and groups fill.	A group of people sharing similar economic interests and power needs. Develops from the success of some in exploiting others.
Social inequality	Inevitable in complex societies. Due largely to different contributions of different groups.	Unnecessary and unjust. Due largely to power differences. Avoidable through socialist reordering of society.
Social change	Arises from changing functional needs of society.	Imposed by one class upon another in its own interest.
Social order	An unconscious product of people's efforts to organize their activities productively.	Produced and maintained by organized coercion by the dominant classes.
Values	Consensus on values unites the society.	Conflicting interests divide society. Illusion of value consensus maintained by dominant classes.
Social institutions: churches, schools, mass media	Cultivate common values and loyalties which unite society.	Cultivate values and loyalties which protect the privileged.
Law and government	Enforce rules reflecting value consensus of the society.	Enforce rules imposed by dominant classes to protect their privileges.

Conflict theorists ask such questions as, "How have the present patterns emerged from the contest between conflicting groups, each seeking its own advantage? "How do the dominant groups and classes achieve and maintain their position of privilege?" "How do they manipulate the institutions of society (schools, churches, mass media) to protect their privileges?" "Who benefits and who suffers from the present social arrangements?" "How can society be made more just and humane?"

Comparison of the Perspectives

Which is the best perspective? This question cannot be answered, for none is "right" or "wrong," but each is a different way of looking at society. Just as international relations can be viewed either as a state of war interrupted by intervals of peace or as a state of peace interrupted by intervals of war, so society may be viewed either as a condition of cooperation containing elements of conflict or as a condition of conflict containing elements of cooperation. Thus each perspective views society from a different vantage point, asks different questions, and reaches different conclusions. Evolutionists focus upon the similarities in changing societies, interactionists focus upon the actual social behavior of persons and groups, functionalists focus more heavily upon value consensus, order, and stability; conflict theorists focus more heavily upon inequality, tension, and change. For example, in the study of class inequality, evolutionists look at the historical development of class inequalities in different societies; interactionists study how classes are defined and how people perceive and treat members of their own class and of other classes, functionalists note how class inequality operates in all societies to distribute tasks and rewards and to keep the system operating; conflict theorists focus upon how class inequality is imposed and maintained by dominant classes

DISORDER AT CEREBELLUM UNIVERSITY

Last week a faculty-administration committee, without any consultation with students, issued a new set of grading procedures. After several days of grumbling an angry mass of students gathered yesterday on the commons, surged into the administration building, ushered out the president, deans, and other officers, told the secretarial staff to take a holiday, and barricaded the doors. The police were called and

How to study this social event from—

The evolutionary perspective

What is the history of student-administration confrontations?

What established patterns, if any, does this follow?

How is this event an outgrowth of earlier situations?

The interactionist perspective

How do rules get made and changed?

Who gets the authority to change the rules, and how?

How do the "good guys" and the "bad guys" in this confrontation get named?

How did tension build, and what roles were played as the confrontation spirit developed?

The functionalist perspective

What are the reasons for this policy change?

What purposes might it serve for the university? For the students?

What purposes does this confrontation serve for the student activists?

What will be the effects of this confrontation?

The conflict perspective:

Why was student input not invited before this policy change?

Who benefits and who is penalized by this policy change?

Why do faculty and administration want this change, and why do students oppose it?

for their own advantage and at the expense of the less privileged

For most topics of study, there are some aspects for which each of the perspectives can be useful. For example, consider the development of the modern university. The evolutionary perspective might focus upon the procession of scholarly needs and arrangements, extending over several thousand years, which eventually led to the development of the modern university. The interactionist perspective would note the ways in which scholarly needs have been defined at different times and the ways in which persons and groups dealt with one another in creating the university. The functionalist perspective would concentrate upon what changes made universities seem to be necessary, what purposes they fulfilled for the society, and what effects universities have upon their students and upon societies. The conflict perspective would concentrate upon which groups and classes benefit from the university and how access to higher education operates to preserve the position of the privileged groups. For some problems, one perspective may be more useful than another. The development of the hospitality pattern, mentioned earlier, is neatly described in terms of the functionalist perspective as a custom which arose to meet a special need at a special time and place. The conflict perspective is not very helpful in

understanding the rise and decline of the hospitality pattern, but the rise of labor unions (to advance workers' interests against those of management) is nicely analyzed within the conflict perspective

There are many other perspectives in sociology—resource theory, systems theory, social learning theory, exchange theory, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and others—but to inflict all of them upon introductory sociology students might convince them that they were in the wrong course! On some topics, different perspectives are so sharply opposed to each other that they cannot possibly be reconciled. On social class and social inequality, for example, the functionalist and conflict perspectives flatly contradict each other about the sources of inequality and the possibilities of attaining social equality. Conflict theorists emphatically deny much of what functionalists say about inequality, and vice versa (as shown in Chapter 14)

More often, however, the different perspectives are complementary, with one pointing out what another slights or ignores. The different perspectives overlap, and all are used by most sociologists but in different mixtures. Thus, no functionalist denies the reality of class exploitation, and no conflict theorist argues that *all* the interests of rich and poor are opposed (e g., pure drinking water and clean air are good for both). These are differences in emphasis, and most sociologists would refuse to be classified under any of these labels. Many sociologists, however, have their favorite perspectives, upon which they rely most heavily. But all perspectives are useful and necessary for a complete understanding of society.

SOME STUDY SUGGESTIONS

A common complaint of sociology students is, "I read the book and I know the material, but I can't seem to figure out the tests." Naturally enough, students who have studied are puzzled and frustrated when their test scores do not reflect what they feel they have learned. Why does this happen?

The textbook material in an introductory sociology course is not entirely unfamiliar and reads quite easily. The student can read through a chapter without finding anything that seems hard to understand. At the end, having found nothing very difficult, the student lays the book aside, feeling this assignment is finished.

Because the material is often familiar and not difficult to read, a student may have the illusion of having fully understood the assignment but have only a vague idea of the meaning of the concepts presented. Each paragraph has one or more main ideas, together with illustrative material intended to explain and clarify them. For example, turn back to the section on "Social Science and Common Sense" at the beginning of this chapter. This section contains only one major idea. Common sense includes both folk wisdom and folk nonsense, and scientists try to tell us which is which. All the rest is illustration and explanation.

The student should underline and remember the main ideas and concepts, not the illustrative material. After reading a paragraph, it is a useful habit to raise one's eyes and ask, "What must I remember from that paragraph?" If nothing very clear can be recited, the paragraph needs to be studied again. After reading a section, look at the heading again and try another recitation for the complete section. Again, if one cannot give in one's own words a decent summary of the section, it has not really been "studied" enough.

Many students have trouble with tables, graphs, and figures. The secret in understanding them is to read everything around the edges before studying the body of the figure. For example, look at Figure 13-1 on p. 319. First, read the title, "Total Federal, State and Local Government Spending as Percent of GNP" (gross national product). Read the

"Source" credit at the bottom, which is often followed by some explanatory notes. Check the vertical axis showing percentages, and the horizontal axis showing dates. After reading this, study the main body of the figure What conclusions can you now draw? Most figures are not difficult if one simply takes time enough to study all the edges of the figure first.

Additional study suggestions are given at the opening of the *Study Guide and Source Book to Accompany Horton and Hunt, Sociology* (which is generally available in the bookstores handling this textbook).

SUMMARY

Sociology is the scientific study of human social life. Today science is replacing common sense as a source of dependable knowledge about human behavior. All science is based on *verifiable evidence* The basic technique of scientific investigation is *observation* Scientific observation differs from just looking at things in that scientific observation is: (1) *accurate,* seeking to describe what really exists; (2) as *precise* and exact as necessary; (3) *systematic,* in an effort to find all the relevant data, (4) *recorded* in complete detail as quickly as possible; (5) *objective,* in being as free from distortion by vested interest, bias, or wishful thinking as is humanly possible; (6) *conducted by trained observers,* who know what to look for and how to recognize it; (7) *conducted under controlled conditions* which reduce the danger of fraud, self-deception, or mistaken interpretation. The steps in a scientific research project are: (1) define the problem, (2) review the literature, (3) formulate the hypotheses, (4) plan the research design, (5) collect the data, (6) analyze the data, (7) draw conclusions, and (8) replicate the study. Remember that before the conclusions can be accepted as established, *replication,* in which these conclusions are confirmed by repeated research, is needed. While the scientific method proceeds from evidence to conclusion, the popularly used *normative* method starts with a conclusion and hunts for evidence to support it

Whether the study of our social relationships is a science is often debated. Sociology is a very new discipline, recently emerged from the speculations of nineteenth-century social philosophers and social reformers. To the extent that human social life is studied through scientific methods so that a body of verified knowledge is developed, these studies become social sciences.

Several perspectives are used in sociology Each views society from a different outlook. The *evolutionary perspective* concentrates upon the sequences through which changing societies pass; the *interactionist perspective* focuses on actual day-to-day communication and behavior of persons and groups; the *functionalist perspective* sees society as an interrelated system in which each group plays a part and each practice helps the system to operate; the *conflict perspective* sees continuous tension and group struggles as the normal condition of society, with stability and value consensus being carefully contrived illusions which protect privileged groups. Each perspective is used, to some degree, by most sociologists, and is needed for a full understanding of society

GLOSSARY

conflict perspective the view that society is in a continuous state of conflict between groups and classes, and tends toward dissent, tension, and change.
evolutionary perspective the view that different societies show many similarities in their development
functionalist perspective the view that society is an organized network of cooperating groups tending toward consensus and stability
hypothesis a tentative, unverified statement of the possible relationship between known facts; a reasonable proposition worthy of scientific testing.
interactionist perspective the view of society that concentrates upon interaction between persons and groups.
normative investigation research which seeks to confirm a conclusion already held.
objectivity the quality of observing and accepting facts as they are, not as one might wish them to be
replication repetition of studies by other researchers to confirm findings
science a body of organized, verified knowledge; a set of methods whereby a body of verified knowledge is obtained
sociology the scientific study of human social life
variable anything which varies from case to case, such as age, sex, and education among human beings.
verifiable evidence factual observations which other trained observers can see, weigh, count, and check for accuracy.

QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1 What is the difference between sociology and plain old-fashioned common sense?
2 Can scientists prove that ghosts and spirits do not exist or that fortune telling and mind reading do not work? Why are scientists so skeptical?
3 Suppose a supervisor says, "I've hired all kinds of workers, and school dropouts don't work out as well as high school graduates." What would be necessary for this statement to be a scientifically justified conclusion?
4 Suppose you were a reporter for the campus paper, writing a news account of a violent confrontation between students and police. Should you try to write it with strict objectivity, or should you "slant" it, using polemical language and omitting certain facts while emphasizing others in order to support the side you felt to be morally right?
5 What proportion of the general statements made in the course of an evening's conversation are based upon informal recollection and what proportion make reference to some systematic, recorded observations? Test your estimate by keeping count of each in a conversational group
6 Read Sinclair Lewis's novel *Arrowsmith*. What are some of the difficulties Martin had to meet in becoming rigorously scientific?
7 Why do you think a pseudoscience such as astrology, which has repeatedly been shown to have no predictive value, has so large a following, even among well-educated people?
8 Books of unscientific sensationalism, such as Charles Berlitz's *The Bermuda Triangle*, often become best-sellers, while competent debunking books, such as Lawrence Kusche's *The Bermuda Triangle Mystery—Solved* (New York, Warner Books, 1975) sell poorly Why?
9 Write three statements of some event or issue, one written as a neutral observer, another as a supporter, and the third as an opponent
10 Formulate some testable hypothesis such as, "Male students collect more parking tickets on campus than female students," or, "Entrance examination scores are not predictive of college graduation." Outline the research design, showing data to be sought and variables to be controlled.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bell, Colin, and Howard Newby: *Doing Sociological Research*, The Free Press, New York, 1977 Two British soci-

ologists tell what actually happens in social research, including value clashes, government interference, and problems of sampling at a time of racial unrest

Blume, Stuart S. *Toward a Political Sociology of Science*, The Free Press, New York, 1974. A discussion of how science is influenced by politics and of how science may be used in making political decisions.

*Chase, Stuart, with Edmund de S. Brunner: *The Proper Study of Mankind, An Inquiry Into the Science of Human Relations*, 2d ed., Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1962. A highly readable little book on the contribution of social science to the solution of human problems

*Cuff, E. C., and G. C. F Payne (eds.): *Perspectives in Sociology*, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1979 Presents the major perspectives used in sociology For the advanced student

*Gardner, Martin: *Science: Good Bad and Bogus*, Prometheus Books, Buffalo, N Y., 1981. A readable, entertaining book showing the differences between science and pseudoscience

Homans, George E.. *The Nature of Social Science*, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1967 A brief philosophical discussion of what social science is all about

*Inkeles, Alex: *What is Sociology. An Introduction to the Discipline and the Profession*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N J., 1964. A brief description of what sociology is and what sociologists do.

Reiser, Martin et al "An Evaluation of the Use of Psychics in the Investigation of Major Crime," *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 7 18–25, March 1979. A research study finding that psychics are useless in crime detection.

Wilson, Everett K, and Harlan Selvin: *Why Study Sociology? A Note to Undergraduates*, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., Belmont, Cal., 1980. A brief pamphlet explaining what sociology is and what it is good for

Following is a series of readable books, some of which are accounts of frauds and hoaxes, and others of which are critical appraisals of cultist ideas and theories.

Milbourne Christopher, *Mediums, Mystics and the Occult*, *L. Sprague DeCamp and Catherine C DeCamp, *The Ancient Engineers*, *Barrows Dunham, *Man Against Myth*, *Bergen Evans, *The Natural History of Nonsense*; Christopher Evans, *Cults of Unreason*; *Martin Gardner, *Fads and Fallacies in the Name of Science*; *C E Hansel, *ESP A Scientific Evaluation*, Harry Houdini, *Miracle Mongers and Their Methods*. Joseph Jastrow, *Error and Eccentricity in Human Belief*, *Philip J Klass, *UFOs Explained*, *Lawrence D. Kusche, *The Bermuda Triangle—Solved*, *Curtis D. MacDougall, *Hoaxes*; Norman Moss, *The Pleasures of Deception*, *The Amazing Randi (James A. Randi), *The Magic of Uri Geller*; D. Scott Rogo, *In Search of the Unknown: The Odyssey of a Psychic Investigator*; Robert Silverberg, *Scientists and Scoundrels: A Book of Hoaxes*. *Barry Thuering and Edgar Castel (eds), *Some Trust in Chariots Sixteen Views on Erich von Däniken's Chariots of the Gods*, any issue of *The Skeptical Inquirer*, quarterly journal published by the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal.

* An asterisk before the citation indicates that the title is available in a paperback edition

2 Fields and Methods of Sociology

THE FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY
METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH
Cross-sectional and Longitudinal Studies
Laboratory and Field Experiments
Observational Studies
The Problem of Sampling
DISAGREEMENTS IN SCIENCE
PURE AND APPLIED SOCIOLOGY
Popular Sociology
THE ROLES OF THE SOCIOLOGIST
The Sociologist as Research Scientist
The Sociologist as Policy Consultant
The Sociologist as Technician
The Sociologist as Teacher
The Sociologist and Social Action
THE STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY
The Use of Concepts in Sociology
Careers in Sociology
SUMMARY
GLOSSARY
QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS
SUGGESTED READINGS

As the recent spate of disaster movies such as *Earthquake* and *The Towering Inferno* underscore we are fascinated with disasters. Social scientists and laymen alike we always have been And we have always been fascinated by questions that relate to our functioning in the midst of and in the aftermath of disasters. Do we panic? Run aimlessly? Help each other? Do we have the inner resources to cope with the disaster? Do outside resources (agencies) function adequately on our behalf? Is the cataclysmic event apt to scar us emotionally?

Since 1917, when Samuel H. Prince of Columbia University first applied social science methodology to the study of a mass calamity—a munitions ship explosion in Halifax Harbor, Nova Scotia, a horror that killed 1 600—a substantive body of disaster research that helps answer such questions has been accumulated. Nonetheless, because of problems inherent in disaster research—funding reaching the impact area quickly, being accepted by the community and more—the picture of how we behave during and after disaster cannot even now be presented in completely satisfying detail.

(*Myron Brenton*, "Studies in the Aftermath" *Human Behavior*, May 1975, p 56)

Few scientists study more different things in more different ways than do sociologists. The sociologist may be digging through obscure census reports to see where the American people are moving, or studying a new social movement as a participant observer, or conducting an evaluation study to see whether an action program is working. Almost any kind of social phenomena is a fit subject for sociological research, providing proper scientific procedures are followed. How this is done is the subject of this chapter.

THE FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY

First of all, *forget whatever you have read about sociology in the popular magazines and newspapers*, for much of it is inaccurate A magazine writer who wishes to make some offhand guesswork sound more impressive may preface it with the phrase, "Sociologists fear that . . ," "Sociologists are alarmed by . . .," or "Sociologists are wringing their hands over . . ." This journalistic device helps a writer to speak authoritatively without knowing very much about the subject. Some papers, such as *The New York Times*, or the *Wall Street Journal*, quote sociologists accurately most of the time. But as a general rule, any undocumented newspaper or magazine statements about what "sociologists think" should be dismissed as unreliable

Careless use of the term "sociologist" is very common. Magazine and newspaper writers, social workers, labor leaders, government officials, social critics, or anyone else who is interested in social relations may be described as sociologists. This is incorrect. A sociologist is one who has earned advanced degrees or pursued other advanced studies in sociology (not in psychology, theology, social work, or some other field) and is engaged in teaching, research, or other professional work in the field of sociology

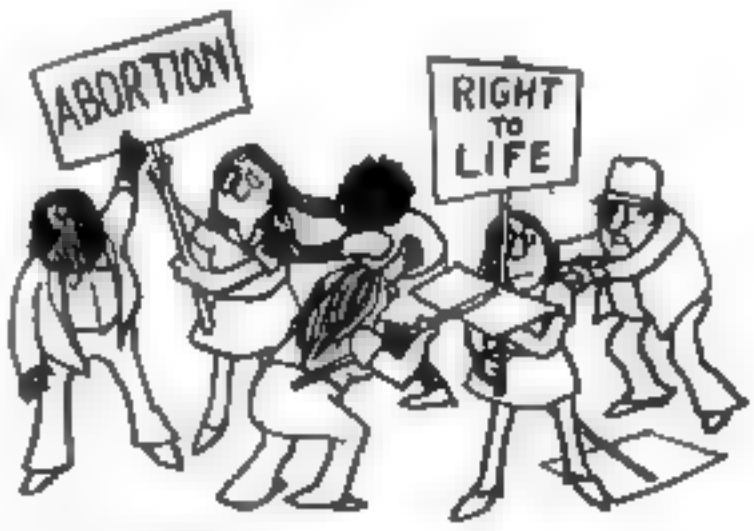
No formal definition of sociology is very satisfactory. Short definitions do not really define; long definitions are cumbersome. Yet a definition of some sort is needed, and sociology is often defined as *the scientific study of human social life*. Human beings behave differently from other animals. They have unique forms of group life; they pursue customs, develop institutions, and create values. Sociology applies scientific methods to the study of these phenomena in the search for scientific knowledge

Sociology concentrates its study upon the group life of human beings and the product of their group living. The sociologist is especially interested

Sociologists study group life. (*Barbara Pfeffer/Black Star*)

in customs, traditions, and values which emerge from group living, and in the way group living is, in turn, affected by these customs, traditions, and values. Sociology is interested in the way groups interact with one another and in the processes and institutions which they develop. Sociology is subdivided into many specialized fields, of which a partial list includes:

Applied Sociology
Collective Behavior
Community
Comparative Sociology
Crime and Delinquency
Cultural Sociology
Demography
Deviant Behavior
Formal and Complex Organizations
Human Ecology
Industrial Sociology
Law and Society
Leisure, Sports, Recreation, and the Arts
Marriage and the Family
Mathematical Sociology
Medical Sociology
Methodology and Statistics
Military Sociology
Political Sociology



Sociology is interested in the way groups interact with one another

Race and Ethnic Relations
Rural Sociology
Social Change
Social Control
Social Organization
Social Psychology
Sociological Theory
Sociology of Education
Sociology of Knowledge and Science
Sociology of Occupations and Professions
Sociology of Religion
Sociology of Small Groups
Stratification and Mobility
Urban Sociology

These topics are not the exclusive property of sociology, for no discipline can stake out a field and post "keep out" signs around it. Sociology is only one of the social sciences. Other disciplines share its interest in many topics. For example, its interest in communication and public opinion is shared by psychology and political science; criminology is shared with psychology, political science, law and police science, and so on. Sociology is especially close to psychology and anthropology, and overlaps them so constantly that any firm boundaries would be arbitrary and unrealistic. The more we learn about human behavior, the more we realize that no one field of knowledge can fully explain it.

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The methods of sociological research are basically those outlined in the preceding chapter and used by all scientists. As Karl Pearson has remarked, "The unity of all science consists alone in its method, not in its material The man who classifies facts of any kind whatever, who sees their mutual relation and describes their sequences, is applying the scientific method and is a man of science" [1900, p. 12].

While scientific methods are basically alike for all sciences, scientific *techniques* differ, for techniques are the particular ways in which scientific methods are applied to a particular problem. Each science must, therefore, develop a series of techniques which fits the body of material it studies. What are some of the techniques of sociological research?

Cross-sectional and Longitudinal Studies

Every study has some sort of time setting. A study which covers a broad area of observation at a single point in time is called a *cross-sectional* study. For example, Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers's study, *The Quality of*

Sociologists study the behavioral norms of different societies. How many norms are suggested by this picture? (*Ken Heyman*)

American Life [1976], reports interviews with a national sample of 2,700 households, inquiring as to their satisfactions and dissatisfactions. They found that married people are happier than single people, that prosperous people are happier than poor people, and made many other interesting observations.

If the study extends over time, describing a trend or making a series of before-and-after observations, it is called a *longitudinal* study. Thus, Levine and Meyer [1977] studied changes in black and white enrollment in Kansas City public schools between 1960 and 1974. They found that schools with a relatively small black enrollment (under 29 percent) were likely to "remain desegregated, while schools with a higher percentage of black students became almost totally resegregated" as a result of what has come to be known as "white flight."

The national public opinion polls (Gallup, Harris, and others) are cross-sectional studies, but if the same set of questions is repeated at intervals over a period of years, longitudinal comparisons can be drawn

Longitudinal studies may be either *prospective* or *retrospective*. A retrospective study (often called an *ex post facto* study) works backward in time, using data that are already recorded For example, Wynder and Evarts [1950] used hospital records of 605 lung cancer victims and found that all but eight were cigarette smokers. When a retrospective study shows strong evidence of a relationship between two facts, the next step often is to see whether a prospective study will confirm the relationship. A prospective study begins with the present and carries observations forward over a period of time. Thus Dorn [1959] and Kahn [1966] followed the health history of 200,000 veterans for eleven years, finding that the pack-a-day-or-more smokers were sixteen times as likely to die from lung cancer as were nonsmokers. Prospective studies take a long time to complete and are often very costly, making them one of the least common types of research study

Sometimes longitudinal conclusions are drawn from cross-sectional studies. A cross-sectional study may show differences between age groups, and this is often interpreted as evidence of changing attitudes or behavior For example, numerous studies have shown that young people are more permissive than older people about sex behavior and drug use. Does this mean that values are changing and that the values of today's youth will be everybody's values tomorrow? Or is this a life-cycle change, with the young growing more conservative as they grow older? A cross-sectional study will not tell this.

Longitudinal conclusions from cross-sectional studies are often dead wrong. For example, ever since "intelligence" testing began, cross-sectional comparisons have consistently shown that average IQ seems to peak in early adulthood and declines steadily thereafter. But these surveys were conducted during a period of steadily rising levels of public education. Each thus compared better educated young people with less well educated older people. More recent longitudinal studies measuring IQs of the *same persons* over a period of years report no consistent decline in IQ until old age, with some aspects of "intelligence" improving and others declining with advancing years [Baltes, 1968; Baltes and Schaie, 1974]. Longitudinal conclusions can only be established by longitudinal studies, even though cross-sectional studies may suggest promising hypotheses.

Laboratory and Field Experiments

All sciences use experiments. In the laboratory experiment, materials or people are brought into the laboratory for study. In laboratory experiments with people, people are recruited, assembled, and perhaps paid for engaging in the experiment Dollard's famous frustration-aggression studies [1939] were conducted by assembling a number of students as experimental subjects, suppos-

edly to study the effects of fatigue upon task performance. These students were subjected to intense frustration through prolonged boredom, nonarrival of promised food and games, and other intentional annoyances, while their aggressive responses were cataloged

The field experiment takes research out to people instead of bringing people to the research laboratory. A massive field experiment involving vaccination of several million children established the value of the Salk polio vaccine. A continuing series of field experiments are seeking to find effective ways of promoting birth control in underdeveloped countries and among disadvantaged groups in the United States [Berelson, 1966; Ridker, 1976; Singh, 1979]

The concept of any experiment is quite simple: Hold all variables constant except one, cause it to vary, and see what happens.

One of the best ways to control all variables is to use *control groups*. A control group is a group of subjects who are like the experimental group in all respects except the variable(s) which we are studying. As an example, suppose we want to know whether abolishing grades would increase learning or increase loafing. To test this by experiment we would need a *control group* of classes which follow the usual teaching and grading procedures, and an *experimental group* of classes using whatever experimental procedure is being tested. To "hold all other variables constant," the control and experimental groups would need to be alike in students' abilities, subject studied, quality of teaching, students' work load, students' finances, and anything else likely to affect their performance. We would also need a reliable instrument to measure learning outcomes (after reaching agreement upon *what* learning outcomes were important). Then the results of the trial could be objectively determined. If the experimental group shows greater or lesser learning gains than the control group and this difference is confirmed by replication (repetitions of the experiment by other researchers), then significant conclusions can be drawn.

Failure to use suitable control groups may destroy a study's usefulness. For example, two psychologists [Miale and Selzer, 1976] examined the Rorschach tests which were given to sixteen Nazi leaders at the time of the Nuremberg war crimes trials and reported that fifteen of them were "psychopathic" in various degrees. But Miale and Selzer failed to compare the Nazi leaders' tests with Rorschach tests from a control group of leaders from other countries. Thus, even if we assume that the analyses are correct, we do not know whether these researchers have uncovered personality characteristics of *Nazi* leaders, or characteristics of *leaders*. Thus, this study is of limited value.

There are two common ways of setting up experimental and control groups. One is the *matched-pair* technique For each person in the experimental group, another person similar in all important variables (such as age, religion, education, occupation, or anything important to this research) is found and placed in the control group. Another technique is the *random-assignment* technique, in which statistically random assignments of persons to experimental and control groups are made—such as assigning the first person to the experimental group, the next to the control group, and so on. Suppose we wish to measure the effectiveness of an experimental treatment program for delinquents in a reformatory. Using one technique, we should match each delinquent who received the experimental treatment (experimental group) with another delinquent, matched for other variables thought important, who received only the usual treatment (control group). Using the random-assignment technique, every second (or third, or tenth) delinquent would be assigned to the experimental group upon arrival at the reformatory, with the others becoming the control group Wherever the researcher is permitted to make assignments in this way, the random-assignment technique is far easier

and at least as accurate; but often, when the research situation does not allow this technique, the matched pair technique may be used

Experiments in sociology face certain difficulties. An experiment involving thousands of people may be prohibitively expensive. It may take years to complete a prospective study. Our values forbid us to use people in any experiments which may injure them. The scientific world reacts strongly in those infrequent instances where human subjects have been used in a hazardous or harmful manner [J. Katz, 1972, Jones, 1981]. When people are unwilling to cooperate in an experiment, we cannot force them to do so (although we may occasionally trick them into unconscious cooperation). Furthermore, when people realize that they are experimental subjects, they begin to act differently, and the experiment may be spoiled. Almost any kind of experimental or observational study upon people *who know they are being studied* will give some interesting findings which may vanish soon after the study is ended.

Planned experiments upon human subjects are most reliable when these subjects do not know the true object of the experiment. They may be given a rationale, a reasonable explanation of what the experimenter is doing, but this rationale may be a harmless but necessary deception which conceals the true purpose of the experiment. For example, McClelland [1971] wished to study the effects of alcohol upon normal people in a party atmosphere but told the subjects that he was studying the effects of a party atmosphere upon fantasy, and had them write imaginative stories about pictures he showed them at intervals. But as Kelman points out [1966], the use of deception in social research poses the ethical question of distinguishing between harmless deception and intellectual dishonesty and may even produce errors in the outcome (subjects may detect the deception and begin second-guessing the researcher!).

Because of all these limitations, social sciences (excepting psychology) make limited use of planned experiments. We use them wherever practical, but depend more heavily on other techniques.

Observational Studies

Observational studies are like experiments in all respects except one. In an experiment the scientist arranges for something to happen in order to observe what follows, whereas in an observational study the scientist observes something which happens, or has already happened, by itself. Both rely upon systematic observation under controlled conditions in a search for verifiable sequences and relationships. Both are used in all the sciences, but the procedures for using them vary according to the material being studied. The types of studies which follow are not mutually exclusive, for a study may fit into more than one of these several categories.

IMPRESSIONISTIC STUDIES. These are informal descriptive and analytic accounts based on observations which are less fully controlled than in more formal studies. They definitely are *not* a rambling series of anecdotes but are an organized presentation of purposeful observations. Suppose, for example, a sociologist with a special interest in the family visits Russia. To make an impressionistic study, this sociologist would outline in advance the kinds of information to be sought, the kinds of people to seek out and question, the places to visit, printed matter to collect, and other sources of possible information. Then, while traveling, the scholar would be alert for chances to ask questions about family life, visit "typical" families, scan papers and magazines and collect any other information. The scholar returns home with some very definite impressions of Russian family life, but they are not based on a systematic, scientifically controlled investigation—on an orderly search of the published literature, on a scientifically constructed sample of informants, and so on.

Responsible scholars will call this sociologist's judgments impressions, and will not state them as scientifically established conclusions.

No matter how elaborate, carefully planned, and systematically conducted a study may be, if the recorded data consist of the observer's impressions, it is classed as an impressionistic study. Thus, the Lynds [1929, 1937] spent many months in "Middletown" (Muncie, Indiana); they systematically searched newspaper files, interviewed virtually everyone who held a position of authority or was locally said to be important, and participated in community life. They ended up with a large mass of impressions which were highly perceptive and probably accurate, but not easily verifiable. A new "Middletown" series of studies, repeating and elaborating upon the Lynds' methods, is now appearing [Caplow et al., 1982], revealing many changes in Middletown in the intervening half century.

Bias is a major hazard in impressionistic research. Studs Terkel [*Working*, 1972] and LeMasters [*Blue-Collar Aristocrats*, 1976] spent hundreds of hours listening to working people share their ideas and feelings; then from their huge collection of tapes, notes, and recollections they selected a small portion for publication. This method clearly carries the danger that the observer's feelings will color the findings.

Despite this hazard, impressionistic studies are highly useful in social science. They provide many hypotheses and research leads, and suggest many insights which might be overlooked by other methods. The best of the impressionistic studies hold an honored place in sociological literature.

STATISTICAL COMPARATIVE STUDIES If the information needed has already been written down somewhere, it is sensible to look up the record. (The Levine and Meyer study, cited on p. 28, is an example, since all the data needed were in school records.) Much sociological research consists of looking up recorded statistical facts and comparing and interpreting them. For a simple example, consider the question, "Now that women have greater freedom to lead an interesting and independent life without marriage, are more women remaining single?" While the *reasons* for remaining single may be a complicated question, the *proportion* of women remaining single can easily be derived from census data, which show the proportion of single women dropping from 24.3 percent in 1890 to 11.9 percent in 1960, then rising to 17.0 percent in 1980. (These figures give the percentage of all American women, 14 years old or older, who had never been married, with correction for changes in the age distribution of the population.) Many such questions can be answered quickly by checking data in the annual *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, which summarizes statistics collected by many government and other agencies and should be found in any library. Other questions may require study of more specialized statistical sources, such as the many *Special Reports* issued by the Bureau of the Census.

Many research questions involve a comparison of several kinds of statistical data from several sources. For example, using income data from the U.S. census, Jacobs [1978] computed an "index of economic equality" for each American state. Then, using crime statistics from *Uniform Crime Reports* (published by the U.S. Department of Justice), he computed an "index of imprisonment probability," a ratio between the number of crimes reported to the police and the number of criminals imprisoned for that type of crime. He hypothesized that imprisonment ratios for property crimes (but not for violent crimes) should be higher wherever economic inequality was greater, and found that his data supported these hypotheses.

Sometimes the researcher must go out and collect original data. For example, Budd [1976] wondered whether marriages are affected by having lived together before marriage. Since

little has been published on this question. Budd surveyed 151 volunteer couples (54 cohabiting couples, 48 married couples who had cohabited, and 49 married couples who had not cohabited. She found very few differences between the marriages of those who cohabited before marriage and those who had not cohabited. (*Tentative* conclusion: premarital cohabitation has little effect upon marriage. Replication studies invited!)

Many people "have no use for statistics." Often they do not like statistics because they do not understand them. Statistics, like shotguns, are dangerous when handled by the ignorant, as is shown in Huff's entertaining little book, *How to Lie with Statistics* [1954]. Those who know the uses and abuses of statistics realize that statistics are nothing more or less than *organized, measured facts*. They are as trustworthy or untrustworthy as is the scientific method of the person who compiles them. To reject statistics is but a way of rejecting facts.

Sociologists make a great many comparative statistical studies. As almost any kind of research is likely to involve statistical organization and comparison of facts at some point or other, the sociologist must be something of a statistician, and citizens who hope to be intelligently aware of the world they live in must know how to interpret statistics, lest they be duped by every clever propagandist in sight

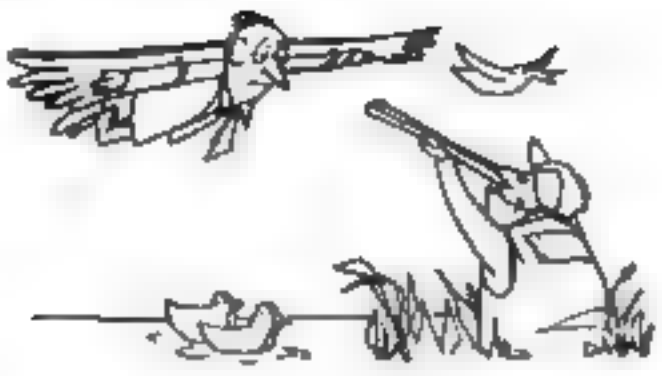
QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW STUDIES Sometimes the facts we need are not recorded anywhere, and we can find them only by asking people. Thus, Ferree [1976] interviewed 135 married women with elementary school children, and reported that the wives who were full-time homemakers were considerably more "dissatisfied with life" than wives who are employed outside the home But six large national interview studies of the same question found no consistent relationship between wives' satisfaction with life and whether they were employed outside the home [Wright, 1978]. Again, we are reminded that a single study seldom proves much until it is confirmed through replication.

Questionnaire and interview studies are systematic ways of asking questions under scientific controls. A questionnaire is filled out by the informant personally, an interview schedule is filled out by a trained interviewer who asks the questions of the informant. Both methods have their pitfalls, which the trained sociologist should be able to avoid. The informants may not understand the question; they may pick an answer even though they do not have any firm opinion on the matter; they may give an "acceptable" answer rather than the real one; or they may be swayed by the way the question is worded.

Even though questionnaire and interview studies have a margin of error, they may still be useful, for they are more reliable than guesswork. Public officials seldom take a position on an issue without first reviewing the public opinion polls, while legislators often delay casting a vote until receiving the latest opinion poll from their districts. Few business executives set a production schedule or plan a sales campaign without first commissioning some "market research."

PARTICIPANT-OBSERVER STUDIES. Some things can be fully understood only by experiencing them. The *participant observer* seeks insight by taking part in whatever is being studied. For example, a participant observer wishing to study labor unions might join one, work at a job, attend union meetings, and possibly become a minor union official. To study a religious sect, one would join it and share in its worship and other activities. Through personal participation and intimate observation, the participant observer may gain insights which no *external* observation would provide.

Some years ago, a white novelist was commissioned by *Ebony* magazine to make a participant-observer study of black life. With his hair trimmed short and his skin darkened



The participant observer seeks insight by taking part personally.

by a drug, he traveled about the South, where everyone identified him as a black. Although he was a native southerner, he found that the experience of being treated as a black brought many surprising revelations about black life in the United States at that time [Griffin, 1961]. In another participant-observer study, Zablocki visited and lived in 120 rural communes over a ten-year period [Zablocki, 1980].

There are pitfalls in this technique. The participant observer may become so emotionally involved as to lose objectivity and become a dedicated partisan instead of a neutral observer. Or the participant observer may overgeneralize—that is, assume that what is found in the group studied is also true of all other groups. Since the data are largely impressionistic, conclusions are not easily verified. Yet the participant observer is not just "looking at things," but is applying a sophisticated scientific methodology [Bruyn, 1966; Friedrichs and Ludke, 1975] which has given us many insights and suggested many hypotheses for further study.

Is it ethical to pretend to be a loyal member of a group in order to study it? Is such a deception justifiable? It is not easy to say when a deception ceases to be harmless. Perhaps the best answer is that a reputable scientist will be careful not to injure the people being studied.

The *eyewitness account* is an amateur, small-scale participant-observer study. How do people act after a disaster, such as a tornado or an explosion? What happens at a religious revival, a riot, a picket-line disturbance? Rarely is there a visiting sociologist, pencil in hand, ready to record the event. Social scientists often seek eyewitness accounts from persons who were there. A detailed eyewitness account, collected as soon as possible after the event, is a useful source of information. Such accounts must be used with care, for the

A white man (on the right), John Griffin, artificially darkened his skin so he could pass for a black man and make a participant-observer study of black life. (*New American Library*)

eyewitness is usually an untrained observer, who may not be reliable. Many studies have shown the undependability of eyewitness identification and how easily eyewitness reports can be "slanted" by the way the questions are put to the witness [Loftus, 1974, 1979; Buckhout, 1975]. Yet the eyewitness account is priceless source of data for the social scientist.

CASE STUDIES The case study is a complete, detailed account of an event, situation, or development. It may be a life history of a person, a complete account of an event, or a detailed study of an organization. Erikson [1976] made a study of the consequences of one disaster, the dam break and flash flood in 1972, in Buffalo Creek, West Virginia, interviewing survivors and reading all the recorded testimony available. The case history of a group—a family, a clique, a union, a religious movement—may suggest some insights into group behavior. An accurate, detailed account of a riot, a panic, an orgy, a disaster, or any social event may have scientific value. An unhappy family, a happy family, a community, an organization—almost any phenomenon can be studied by the case-study technique.

Perhaps the greatest value of the case study is in the suggestion of hypotheses, which can then be tested by other methods. Much of our reliable knowledge about juvenile delinquency, for instance, has developed through the testing of hypotheses which were suggested by early case studies of delinquents [Thomas, 1923; Shaw, 1931]. Much of our present knowledge of personality disorganization stems from hypotheses suggested by a classic collection of case studies in Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* [1923]. These hypotheses are not often *tested* by the case-study method but by other methods.

A generalization cannot be based upon a single case, for a case can be found to "prove" almost anything. Generalizations must be based upon a large mass of carefully processed data, and the collection of a great many case studies is expensive. Also it is difficult to "add up" a number of case studies or compute averages or other statistical computations. Therefore we seldom use case studies when seeking to test a hypothesis. But after the hypothesis has been tested and we have arrived at some sound generalizations, a good case study may give a beautiful illustration of these generalizations. For example, there is conclusive evidence that juvenile delinquency is closely associated with unsatisfactory family life [Glueck and Glueck, 1959]. A case study showing how unsatisfactory family life has apparently encouraged delinquency in a particular family makes a vivid illustration of this generalization.

These several kinds of studies often overlap, and a study may fit into more than one classification. For example, Roebuck and Frese [1976] made a study of an after-hours nightclub (serving liquor after legal closing hours). They posed as ordinary patrons while listening and talking with the "night people." Theirs was a participant-observer study (they observed patrons while posing as patrons), an impressionistic study (they collected impressions, not statistics), and a case study (they studied *one* club). The Zablocki study of communes mentioned earlier was a participant-observer study (he lived in communes), a cross-sectional study (120 of them), a longitudinal study (over a ten-year period), a questionnaire study (asking the same questions in each), and a statistical comparative study (he collected factual data on communards and compared them with other groups of people).

EVALUATION RESEARCH. Almost half the federal government's expenditures are for "human resources," including social action programs such as Head Start, delinquency

prevention, drug rehabilitation, job training, and many others. Do they work? Or is the money wasted? May they even do more harm than good?

The use of scientific research procedures to measure the effectiveness of an action program is called *evaluation research* [Suchman, 1967; Abt, 1977; Cook, 1978]. Evaluation research may use any of the kinds of studies described in the preceding pages. Its object is to replace guesswork with knowledge in deciding what programs to continue and how to improve them. (At least in theory, this is the purpose; in practice, the purpose of evaluation research may be to develop proof of the program's "success" so that funding will be continued.)

Evaluation research is not easy, for many variables must be controlled. Often the findings of various evaluation studies are so conflicting that no firm conclusions can be drawn. For example, Nancy St. John [1975] reviewed dozens of studies of the effects of school desegregation on pupil learning and found that the reported effects varied so widely that no clear decision could be rendered. Even when numerous studies do agree, they may be disbelieved or ignored. Studies critical of an agency may be quietly buried, and those whose conclusions conflict with popular beliefs are disregarded. For example, a number of studies have shown that high school driver-training courses have little or no effect upon driver accident rates [Moynihan, 1968, Harmon, 1969, Conley and Smiley, 1976], but it appears that people have made a common-sense judgment that driver training "must work" and simply ignore evidence that it does not.

Despite the difficulties and pitfalls, evaluation research is one of the most important and most rapidly growing areas of sociological research, with new books appearing every year [Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Meyers, 1981, Crane, 1982], along with an *Evaluation Studies Review Annual* and a quarterly journal, *Evaluation Review*. While evaluation research is imperfect, the alternative is to rely on hunches and guesswork in designing social action programs.

The Problem of Sampling

In most research, we save time by examining only a sample of an entire *universe*—whatever we are studying, whether it is tomato plants, laboratory animals, college freshmen, or working wives. If the sample is properly selected, it will give an accurate picture of the entire universe under study. But to do this, the sample must be *representative*; that is, all kinds of people (or tomato plants, or whatever) must appear in the sample *in the same proportions* as they appear in the universe being studied. Thus, a representative sample of the student body must contain the same proportion of freshmen, males, blacks, commuters, business majors, and married students as found in the entire student body. The most common way of doing this is to select a *random sample*.

The term, "random," suggests a selection without any system or design, such as choosing anyone who is handy—people passing a particular street corner, or climbing the library steps. But this would be an *uncontrolled sample*, for there are no controls to insure that it will be representative.

A *random sample* is selected so that each person in the universe being studied has an equal chance of being in the sample. We might take every tenth, or fiftieth, or hundredth name in the student directory. Or we might feed all the student numbers into the computer and program it to make a random selection. Every tenth address on the community's mail-delivery routes, every twentieth hospital admission, or every hundredth driver's license would give random samples of local residents, hospital patients, or automobile drivers.

While a random sample is quite represent-

ative, a *stratified random sample* is still more perfectly representative. In such a sample, we first determine what percentage of each category of the universe under study would be in the sample and then program the computer to select a random sample of each category. For example, suppose that our university student body is 32 percent freshmen, 49 percent male, 12 percent black, and 45 percent commuters (plus other categories). In a representative sample, each 100 members of the sample should include 32 freshmen, 49 males, 12 blacks, and 45 commuters. The computer is then programmed to make a random selection of 32 freshmen from all the freshmen, 49 males from all the males, and so on.

A *self-selected* sample is composed of volunteers, such as persons who write letters to the editor or to their senator or who mail in magazine questionnaires. It is unknown how these volunteers compare with those who did not volunteer. Is it mainly the "far-outs" or the "squares" who mail in the questionnaires? Thus, *The Hite Report* [Hite, 1976], a sex book pretending to be a research study of women's sex lives, was based upon a *3 percent* return of mailed questionnaires. Ms. Hite's sequel, *The Hite Report on Male Sexuality* [Hite, 1981] did a little better, getting a 6 percent return. With such tiny returns, these books should be viewed as popular entertainment, not as research.

DISAGREEMENTS IN SCIENCE

Since scientists are supposed to follow certain standard procedures in collecting data and arriving at conclusions based upon scientific evidence, unsullied by bias, vanity, or vested interest, why do scientists so often disagree? Sometimes two different scientists, working with the same data, arrive at opposite conclusions. For example, the Jacobs study mentioned earlier [Jacobs, 1978] concluded that more property crimes are committed where economic inequality is greater. But another sociologist, using the same data, found no such relationship as Jacobs claimed [Bailey, 1981]. Each of these scholars claims that the other is using defective methodology [Bailey, 1981; Jacobs, 1981].

Such contests are common in all sciences. Differing sets of data, differing methods of handling data, differing perspectives, and possible errors all add up to many disagreements. Most disagreements are resolved in time, but by then new disagreements have arisen. It would be easier for students if everything were neatly classified as "definitely true" or "definitely false," but the

Science separates itself from pseudoscience along a number of dimensions. One of these dimensions is accessibility of the data. Scientific data are consensually validated by open inspection of the recorded observations or through replication of the relevant phenomena. Following publication of major observations it is an accepted practice in science for researchers to allow colleagues who are doing serious work in the same field to have access to their original data. When researchers consistently refuse to allow colleagues such access, something important is being signaled. Of course data may get lost or destroyed or be difficult or costly to retrieve in the form required. Or they may be classified information or have commercial value that a scientist may wish to exploit prior to their general release. However, when none of these considerations is applicable, a refusal to supply a copy of a set of data leads to the unpleasant inference that something is wrong, that the data do not support what is claimed for them, that the data are an embarrassment following an extravagant claim that cannot be substantiated.

(David F. Marks, "Remote Viewing Revisited," *The Skeptical Inquirer*, Vol. VI, No. 4, Summer 1982, p. 19.)

world of scientific knowledge just is not like that. Separating scientific truth from error is a difficult task, but an exciting one!

PURE AND APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

A distinction between pure and applied science is drawn in every scientific field. *Pure science* is a search for knowledge, without primary concern for its practical use. *Applied science* is the search for ways of using scientific knowledge to solve practical problems. A biochemist who seeks to learn how a cell absorbs food or how a cell ages is working as a pure scientist. If this biochemist then tries to find some way to control the aging process, this is applied science. A sociologist making a study of "the social structure of a slum neighborhood" is working as a pure scientist; if this is followed by a study of "how to prevent delinquency in a slum neighborhood," this is applied science. Many people view sociology entirely as an applied science—trying to solve social problems. Properly viewed, it is both a pure and an applied science. For unless a science is constantly searching for more basic knowledge, its "practical applications of knowledge" are not likely to be very practical

Practical applications of sociological knowledge have become quite common. Some sociologists are employed by corporations, government bureaus, and social agencies, often in evaluation research but sometimes in administration. Sociologists are often consulted by legislative committees in preparing new legislation. While the political clout of opposing interest groups may be the prime determinant of social policy decisions, the policy recommendations of social scientists are a significant factor in the legislative process.

On many social questions, such as the causes and treatment of crime and delinquency, drug and alcohol addiction, sex offenses, the causes and consequences of race discrimination, or the adjustment of the family to a changing society, there is considerable scientific knowledge within the social sciences. Often this knowledge is rejected by people who prefer to follow their prejudices, but as a nation, we are beginning to apply scientific methods to our thinking about social issues.

Popular Sociology

A great deal of sociological material reaches print through people who are not sociologists. The popular magazines are studded with articles on crime, family life, sex, education, suburbia, social class—practically every sociological topic imaginable. This is popular sociology—treatment of sociological topics, usually by writers without much formal sociological training, and aimed at a popular audience. Popular sociology at its worst is seen in articles like the "sex-and-sin" exposés upon which certain men's magazines dwell so fondly Such articles are generally descriptively inaccurate, with a total lack of the interpretative analysis which would fit the facts into a relevant social context. At the opposite pole are many writers who do a fairly creditable job of popularizing sociological findings. For example, Stoner and Parke's *All God's Children* [1977], a study of new religious cults, and Davis's *Hometown* [1981] are written by nonsociologists, but the authors are careful, observant, sensitive reporters.

"Pop sociology" often contains inaccuracies and instances of misplaced emphasis, doubtful interpretation, oversimplification, and too-sweeping generalization. Yet it is likely that popular understanding of sociological topics has been greatly increased by such writers

Why isn't popular sociology written by professional sociologists? For the same reason that popular science is usually written by journalists, rather than by scientists. Popular writing is a special skill which few scientists or professors have mastered. Furthermore, the scientist's passion for accuracy and for a

careful qualification of all statements is a positive handicap in popular writing. Unwillingness to oversimplify, to overdramatize, or to indulge in grandly sweeping generalization make the professional's writing more accurate but less exciting. Sociologists write for the scholarly audience while journalists popularize sociology, more or less accurately, for the public

THE ROLES OF THE SOCIOLOGIST

What is the proper task of the sociologist? Is it merely to observe human action with the calm, detached curiosity of the ecologist who counts the lemmings as they dive into the sea? Or should the sociologist rush into social action? Should the professor of sociology encourage students to develop a detached understanding of social phenomena or inspire them to man the barricades for social reform? What is the proper role for the sociologist in a changing society?

The Sociologist as Research Scientist

Like all scientists, sociologists are concerned with both collecting and using knowledge They share in these tasks in various ways.

CONDUCTING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH As a scientist, the sociologist's foremost task is to discover and organize knowledge about social life. A number of full-time research sociologists are employed by universities, government agencies, foundations, or corporations, and many sociologists divide their time between teaching and research. Many university sociologists are engaged in "funded" research, with all or part of their salaries and their research expenses paid from research grants made by government agencies, foundations, or corporations. These grants are made to sociologists who submit an acceptable proposal for research on a particular topic. Since little research can be conducted without research funds, this gives the funding agencies great power to influence the direction of sociological research.

Radical critics of sociology (including some sociologists) claim that, behind a facade of ethical neutrality and objectivity, sociologists have prostituted their research talents to the support of the interests of the funding agencies, and have thus supported militarism, racism, and other forms of oppression [Gouldner, 1962, 1970; Fredericks, 1970, pp. 82–85; any issue of *The Insurgent Sociologist*].

Whether sociological research has been widely corrupted in this manner may be debated [Horton and Bouma, 1971]. What is indisputable is that problems of bias and partisanship are present in all research, and that research findings are often helpful to the interests of some people and damaging to the interests of other people [Becker, 1967]. Even the definition of a research problem may carry an implicit bias. For example if we state a research problem as, "What characteristics of poor people contribute to their poverty?" we imply that the responsibility rests mainly on the poor people themselves, but if we define the problem as, "What social arrangements produce poverty?" then the responsibility is placed upon "society."

Throughout most of the history of sociology, sociologists were often accused of being radical subversives whose research and teaching were a threat to established institutions and vested interests. Many older sociologists today, still bearing the scars of the anticommunist witchhunts of the 1950s, are puzzled and hurt when students and younger sociologists accuse them of having been lackeys of capitalistic oppression all their lives! But the question of the responsibility of the scientist to society is as old as science itself, and will not soon be settled.

CORRECTING POPULAR NONSENSE Another task of the sociologist as a scientist is to clear away the intellectual rubbish of misinformation and superstition which clutters so much

of our social thinking. Sociologists have helped to bury a great deal of nonsense about heredity, race, class, sex differences, deviation, and nearly every other aspect of behavior. It is due partly to the findings of sociology that today we rarely hear an educated person argue that the white race is innately superior, that women are intellectually inferior to men, that behavior traits are inherited, or that rural people are less "immoral" than urbanites—ideas which nearly every educated person accepted a half century ago. By helping replace superstition and misinformation with accurate knowledge about human behavior, sociologists are perhaps performing their most important function.

MAKING SOCIOLOGICAL PREDICTIONS. Although the track record of sociologists in making social predictions is not impressive, *someone* must make social predictions. Every policy decision is based upon certain assumptions about the present and future state of the society. A legislator who says "We need more severe penalties to curb drug pushing" is predicting that more severe penalties actually will curb the narcotics business without creating even greater problems. Another legislator who says "Legalize marijuana" is making a set of predictions about the consequences of this action. Thus every policy recommendation inevitably implies a set of assumptions and predictions. What sort of predictions do sociologists offer? Here are a few samples, offered without explanation or documentation at this point, as examples of the kind of predictions sociologists can make:

The trend toward employment of women will continue until most women are working for most of their married lives.

Birth rates will fall to approach death rates, or death rates will rise to approach birth rates.

Despite some experimentation with alternatives, the monogamous nuclear family will continue to be the basic family type in the United States.

The present popularity of jeans and casual clothing amoung young people will be followed by a return to high-style clothing.

The recent trend toward early retirement will soon be replaced by efforts to lengthen the work career.

Most social science prediction consists not of predicting specific developments, as the astronomer predicts an eclipse, but of forecasting the general pattern of trends and changes which seem most probable [e.g., Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*, 1973]. All such predictions or forecasts should be offered with a certain humility, for no certainty attends them. Instead, social scientists offer them as the best, most informed guesses available upon which to base our policy decisions and expectations for the future.

The Sociologist as Policy Consultant

Sociological prediction can also help to estimate the probable effects of a social policy. Every social policy decision is a prediction. A policy (e.g., federal grants for Head Start) is begun in the hope that it will produce a desired effect (e.g., narrow the educational gap between poorer and more prosperous children). Policies have often failed because they embodied unsound assumptions and predictions. Sociologists can help to predict the effects of a policy, and thus contribute to the selection of policies which achieve the intended purposes. For example:

What effect does dropping out of high school have upon a youth's future earnings? (Little or none, when other factors are equal.)

What would be the effect of intensified law enforcement upon campus marijuana use? (Little or no reduction, with aggravation of other student-police problems.)

Would low birthrates and a small family norm increase marital happiness? (Yes; there is research evidence that smaller families are better off in every way.)

Would publishing the names of juvenile delinquents help to reduce delinquency? (No, it would more likely increase it).

Would the suppression of obscene literature help to reduce sex crimes and sex immorality? (Our limited evidence suggests that it would not.)

Would legal barriers to abortion strengthen family life? (No; most sociologists believe this would increase illegitimate births, unwanted children, child abuse, and family discord.)

These are a few of the many social policy questions which sociologists could help to settle. One of the greatest services any scholarly group can offer is to show the society what policies are most likely to work in achieving its objectives. This is a service which sociologists are qualified to perform.

The Sociologist as Technician

Some sociologists are engaged in planning and conducting community action programs, advising on public relations, employee relations, problems of morale or of "intergroup relations" within the organization; working on human relations problems of many sorts. Often these sociologists have specialized in social psychology, industrial sociology, urban or rural sociology, or the sociology of complex organizations.

Recently the term *clinical sociologist* has appeared to describe the work of the sociologist as technician [Gardner, 1978]. To some extent, this is a new name for what sociologists have been doing for a long time, but it also includes a considerable broadening of the range of sociologists' efforts to be useful in society.

In such positions the sociologist is working as an applied scientist. He or she has been engaged to use scientific knowledge in pursuing certain values—a harmonious and efficient working force, an attractive public image of the industry, or an effective community action program. This role raises a question of ethics. When a sociologist accepts employment as a technician, pursuing values chosen by an employer, has scientific integrity been compromised? To take an extreme example, there is evidence [Monroe, 1962] that gambling operators engaged social scientists to find out why people do or do not gamble, so that the operators could learn how to attract more customers. (We do not know whether any sociologists were included.) Would this be a form of scientific prostitution?

The radical critics of "establishment sociology" charge that sociologists have "sold out" whenever they serve as technicians or research scholars in any kind of effort to maintain or improve the efficiency of the government, military, capitalistic, or welfare establishments. Thus, not only are sociologists (if any) working in war-related activities condemned, but even sociologists working in programs to improve the health of poor children in Mississippi, to increase agricultural output in Peru, or to teach birth control in village India are sometimes accused of supporting "oppression." This is the classic view of the revolutionist—any attempt to make the present system work better, or to help people find better lives within the system is "oppressive" because it helps to perpetuate the system.

There is no simple answer to the question of what clinical appointments it is proper for the sociologist to accept. Each sociologist's answer will be found partly in the prevailing views of the academic world at that moment and partly in his or her own conscience.

The Sociologist as Teacher

Teaching is the major career of many sociologists. In addition to the concerns and problems of teaching in any field, the problem of value neutrality versus value commitment is

a particularly acute question. For example, in a course on "poverty," should the sociologist supervise an objective study of facts, theories, and policies—possibly sympathetic but as objective as possible? Or should the course be designed to produce dedicated advocates of a particular action program? Should the sociologist seek to convert students to conservatism, liberal reformism, or revolutionary activism? For some decades the ethics of university teaching have demanded that the teacher refrain from all conscious "indoctrination," but this question is now under spirited debate

The Sociologist and Social Action

Scientists seek to discover knowledge. Should scientists also tell the society how this knowledge *should* be used? For example, the geneticists already know something about human heredity, and before very long it may be possible to control the genetic makeup of babies, and "order" babies according to a specifications list. Who should decide what sort of baby should go to whom? The scientists? The parents? The government?

The basic question is whether science—specifically sociology—should be value-free. For example, sociologists know some things about population growth, race relations, urban development, and many other matters involving questions of public policy. Should sociologists become public advocates of birth control programs, legalized abortion, women's liberation, legalized marijuana, racial integration, and many other programs which they may consider socially desirable?

Early sociologists gave an emphatic "yes" to this question. Without an adequate foundation of scientific knowledge, they rushed to support all sorts of public policies they believed wise. Between 1920 and 1940, many sociologists shifted to the view that sociology should be a more nearly "pure" science, discovering knowledge but not attempting to decree how it should be used They sought to build sociology on the model of physics or chemistry, as a value-free science. As such, it should be committed to no values except those of free scientific inquiry. Sociologists generally avoided involvement in controversial issues and sought the status of "pure" social scientists

More recently, this view has been challenged in both physical and social science The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* carries many articles by scientists urging their fellows to claim a larger role in deciding the uses of nuclear science discoveries. Many sociologists today believe that sociologists should claim a major role in making decisions about public policy and should involve themselves in the major issues of our society [Lindesmith, 1960; Horowitz, 1964, Stein and Vidich, 1964, A. Lee, 1966, 1973, 1978; Becker 1967] They charge that sociologists have buried themselves in "safe" research topics, leaving the really important questions to nonsociologists—questions such as "How can poverty be reduced?" "How can schools be integrated?" "How can communities be organized for more civilized social living?" "Should the goals and values of American society be altered to promote human welfare?" They feel that not only do sociologists have a duty to say what society *might* do about problems of race conflict, population growth, birth control, drug addiction, divorce, sex deviation, medical care, etc., but that sociologists have a duty to say what our society *should* do about such problems. Books like Shostak's *Putting Sociology to Work* [1974] provide concrete examples of how sociologists are involving themselves in social issues and constructive social action and show what they have learned from these experiences.

Sociology today, in common with all the other social sciences, has some members who insist that, both individually and as an academic discipline, sociologists should openly and publicly support the "radical reconstruction of society" [Szymanski, 1970; Colfax and Roach, 1971; D. Horowitz, 1971; Sternberg,

1977] This question is receiving much attention in sociological literature [Douglas, 1970; Lee, 1978; Harris, 1980]. Whether sociology should be value-free is an unsettled question, but sociologists are agreed upon the following propositions:

(1) Sociologists should show the relationships between values. In short, sociologists may say, "If *this* is what you want, *here* is what you must do to get it." If stable, enduring marriages are more important than happiness in marriage, then divorce should be made more difficult; if *happy* marriages represent the more important value, then fairly easy divorce should permit the unhappily married to separate and try again. If we wish to arrest urban blight and suburban sprawl, some private property rights will have to be sacrificed. If we wish to clean up polluted rivers, we must be prepared to spend a lot of tax money in doing so. Sociologists may clarify what value sacrifices must be made if we wish to attain certain other values.

(2) A sociologist as an *individual* may properly make value judgments, support causes, and join reform movements, like any other citizen. As a scientist, the sociologist may not know whether television violence is harmful to children, and therefore might not make public recommendations, but as a parent will make a decision according to his or her personal beliefs and values. As a scientist, the sociologist may not be able to say whether gambling or marijuana should be forbidden, but as a citizen he or she is free to express opinions and support personal value judgments.

As a citizen, the sociologist is perfectly justified in supporting causes.

Beyond this there is no complete agreement among sociologists concerning what role they should assume. Most sociologists have some firm opinions on what policies society should follow and are in considerable agreement with one another upon many of these policies. Possibly the time will come when the social policies which seem best to most sociologists will also seem best to the rest of the society. As persons who cannot and would not divorce themselves from the society in which they live, most sociologists hope so.

THE STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY

Students are sometimes delighted to find in sociology (or another social science) evidence that some of their parents' fondest beliefs are outmoded superstitions. But when they find evidence that their *own* beliefs are scientifically unfounded, their reaction to this correction may not differ greatly from that of their parents. To separate sense from nonsense is one of the objectives of sociology. Only those who are willing and able to subject their beliefs, assumptions, and practices to objective scientific scrutiny will gain much from the study of any of the social sciences.

The Use of Concepts in Sociology

Every field of study makes the student memorize many words to which the field attaches special meanings. This is not an idle ritual, it is done because precise concepts are necessary. First, *we need carefully expressed concepts to carry on a scientific discussion.* How would you explain machinery to a person who had no concept of "wheel"? How useful to a specialist would a patient's medical history be if her physician had recorded it in the language of the layman? The several dozen sociological concepts which will harass the

student in this book are necessary for a clear discussion of social phenomena.

Secondly, *the formulation of concepts leads to increased knowledge* Some accurate descriptive knowledge must be organized before a concept can be framed. Then the analysis and criticism of this new concept point up the gaps and errors in present knowledge. Use of the concept often calls attention to facts and relationships which may have been overlooked. Years ago while studying migration, Park [1928] framed the concept of the *marginal man* who is on the fringes of two groups or two ways of life while fully belonging to neither. The use of this concept quickly led to the recognition that there were many kinds of marginal persons—the person of mixed racial ancestry, who belongs clearly to neither race; the supervisor, who is not clearly either "management" or "labor"; the ambitious climber, no longer in the lower class yet not securely a middle-class person; and many others. Sound concepts like that of marginality lead to increased knowledge

Finally, concepts are useful as verbal shorthand. At the hardware store, it is faster to ask for a "wing-nut" than for "one of those funny nuts with little ears on it so it can be tightened by hand." The term "control group" replaces an entire sentence in a research report or discussion. Every discipline develops concepts as time-savers.

Most of the concepts of sociology are expressed in words which also have a popular meaning, just as the term *order* has one meaning in zoology, another at the restaurant table, and still another at a law-and-order political rally Every science appropriates some common words and makes them into scientific concepts by giving them a specific definition. Sociology is no exception

Careers in Sociology

A student who becomes interested in a subject may wonder what possibilities it holds for a career. A combination of courses which constitutes an undergraduate major or minor in sociology is not, in itself, preparation for a professional career as a sociologist. Undergraduate majors and minors are useful mainly as background preparation for other careers. (1) In *social work*, the better jobs demand a graduate degree in social work, and a strong undergraduate major in sociology is usually recommended. (2) In *the professions*—medicine, law, engineering—it has been found that undergraduate social science courses are useful. (3) *Secondary schools* present some demand for sociology teachers. (4) *Civil service positions* often include undergraduate sociology among the acceptable educational qualifications for a wide variety of positions in lower and middle brackets. (5) *Sociologists are employed* in small numbers by industry, trade associations, labor unions, foundations, and in fairly large numbers by research organizations, in a wide variety of positions, very often in the administration and conduct of research. (6) *Newly emergent careers* in many

TABLE 2-1
EMPLOYMENT OF UNDERGRADUATE SOCIOLOGY MAJORS, 1920–1980s*

	TIME OF GRADUATION		
Occupation	1920–1960s	1970s	1980s
Teaching	21.0	9.8	8.3
Planning	12.3	4.1	6.6
Social work	11.4	5.7	0.0
Homemaking	7.0	2.6	3.3
Counseling	6.1	8.2	3.3
Management	5.3	10.6	15.0
Graduate school	4.4	9.8	8.3
Secretarial	3.4	3.7	16.6
Retail trade	2.6	13.1	11.6
Clerical	0.9	9.4	20.0
Other	11.5	9.0	2.2
Retired, unemployed	14.0	3.7	0.0

* Responses of 419 undergraduate sociology majors from Florida State University. Percentages add up to more than 100 because listing includes "first, present, and any other" occupations.
Source: Graham C. Kinloch, "Undergraduate Sociology Majors and the Job Market," *The Southern Sociologist*, 14:20–21, Winter 1983

sorts of action programs have developed in recent years—local human relations councils, fair employment practices commissions, affirmative action programs, economic opportunity programs, job retraining programs, foreign aid programs, and many others. Changes introduced by the Reagan administration have, for at least the moment, greatly curtailed employment opportunities in these positions, and their long-term future is uncertain.

An M A. degree is generally sufficient to obtain a teaching position at a junior college or community college, but promotions and university appointments usually require a Ph D., which is even more necessary for a career in sociology than it is in most of the other sciences. Among those scientists with enough "professional standing in the scientific community" to be listed in the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel, in 1970 (the most recent issue available as this is written), a doctor's degree was held by 76 percent of the sociologists, as compared with 66 percent of the psychologists, 42 percent of the economists, 41 percent of the physicists, 36 percent of the chemists; the sociologists were exceeded only by the anthropologists, 90 percent of whom held a doctorate. Of all sociologists, about 84 percent are employed by educational institutions, with the remainder scattered among many employers, mainly government agencies and private foundations. Teaching is the major activity of 58 percent of sociologists, with 22 percent engaged primarily in research, and 16 percent in management and administration, most often management and administration of research (leaving 4 percent in "other" work).

For a quarter century after World War II, the employment outlook for sociologists was excellent. But since 1977, college enrollments have been falling. The Reagan administration cut funds for student loans and aids and eliminated most federal government funding for social science research. As this is written, the employment outlook for new sociology Ph.D's is not favorable. To imply otherwise would be dishonest. The market for sociologists is highly sensitive to federal government policies, and these can change rapidly. Any student interested in sociology as a career should consult sociology faculty members upon the current employment prospects and should obtain a copy of the booklet *Careers in Sociology* by writing to the American Sociological Association, 1722 N Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20036).

For most students, sociology will not be a career but merely part of their general liberal arts education. Whatever career they enter, they will be members of a society, residents in a community, participants in many groups, and carriers of the culture to the next generation. The study of sociology may aid them to fill with greater insight these varied roles which are their destiny.

SUMMARY

Sociology attempts to study society scientifically. Each social science has its own focus, and sociology's is upon the group life of the human race and the social products of this group life.

The methods of sociological research include *experimental* and *observational* studies, and many studies can be either *cross-sectional studies* or *longitudinal studies* (which may be either *prospective* or *retrospective*).

Observational studies are of several kinds: *impressionistic studies, participant-observer studies, case studies, questionnaire and interview studies, statistical comparative studies,* and *evaluation research studies.* A single study may fit into more than one of these categories (e.g., a longitudinal participant-observer study).

Sociology like all sciences may be either *pure* or *applied. Pure sociology* searches for new knowledge, while *applied sociology* tries to apply sociological knowledge to practical problems. A good deal of more or less accurate

sociology is popularized by professional journalists, who are sometimes incorrectly called sociologists.

The sociologist in the professional role of social scientist tends to be a pure scientist devoted to discovering and teaching truth and occasionally making sociological predictions. The sociologist may function as an applied scientist when employed as a technician or consultant, or when in the role of private citizen. Whether sociologists as scientists and teachers should select, recommend, and actively promote those policies which they believe society *should* follow is an unsettled question.

The study of sociology will be successful only if the student is willing to learn about matters which already appear to be familiar. The student must learn some concepts which are needed for a precise scientific discussion. Granted a willingness to engage in serious preparation, the student may find a prospective career in sociology.

GLOSSARY

bias a tendency, usually unconscious, to see facts in a certain way because of one's wishes, interests, or values.
case study a complete, detailed account of an event, situation, or development
control group a group of subjects who resemble the experimental group in all respects except the variable(s) being studied
cross-sectional study one which covers a broad range of phenomena at a single point in time.
evaluation research a study measuring the effectiveness of an action program.
experimental group subjects whose responses to various experimental influences are observed
impressionistic study the systematically collected impressions of a researcher
longitudinal study one which examines the same body of phenomena over a period of time
matched-pair technique one which matches each member of an experimental group with a person in the control group who is similar in all respects except the variable(s) being studied
participant-observer study one in which the researcher becomes an active participant in whatever is being studied
popular sociology popularizing of sociological findings by nonsociologists in popular media
prospective study one which follows the same body of phenomena forward through a period of time, beginning with the present
random-assignment technique one which builds experimental and control groups by assigning members at random to each group.
random sample one in which every person has an equal chance to appear, as when every fifth or tenth, or hundredth name is selected
representative sample one in which all kinds of people appear in the same proportions as they appear in the total population studied
retrospective study one which studies a body of phenomena, working backward from the present over a period of time
self-selected sample one in which members of the sample are included by voluntary action, such as returning a questionnaire or a letter
stratified random sample one in which a random sample is taken of each of the various categories of people in the universe studied

QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1 How would you explain sociology to an uneducated person with no understanding of academic fields of knowledge? How would you explain it to a well-educated person whose education had included no sociology courses?
2 What is a sociologist? How is the term often misused?
3 What is the difference between a prospective and a retrospective study? Outline a research design of each type to study the relation between college grades and starting salaries after graduation.
4 How do you "control" a variable? In studying the

possible relation between grades and starting salaries, what are some variables that should be controlled? How could they be controlled?

5 Why are experimental studies rather rare in sociology?

6 What precautions are needed in using eyewitness accounts as sources of scientific data?

7 How does the participant-observer technique differ from merely looking at things? Isn't everyone a participant observer?

8 In one study 1,000 questionnaires are mailed and 800 completed questionnaires are returned, in another study 50,000 questionnaires are mailed and 5,000 are returned. Which study will arrive at the more reliable conclusions?

9 What are the pros and cons of defining the sociology teacher's role as including active promotion among students of values, goals, and social policies the teacher believes right?

10 When you are in an informal student "bull session," listen to each statement with these questions in mind "How scientifically sound is this statement? Is it based upon scientific fact or upon guesswork, folklore, and wishful thinking? Could it be documented with adequate scientific support?" At the conclusion, try to estimate what proportion of the statements could be scientifically substantiated.

11 Discuss the implications of these two wordings of a possible questionnaire item.

a. Do you favor the taking of unborn human life?

b. Do you favor compulsory childbirth?

12 Write a brief, impressionistic account of some group or some community you have observed. Then list several of your generalizations about the group and outline a research project for collecting the empirical data which would enable you to test the accuracy of these statements.

13 Many communities made cross-sectional studies in the mid-1970s and found that black children equalled whites in school achievement in the lower grades but fell progressively further behind as grade level advanced. How could these findings be interpreted as: (*a*) evidence of school failure? (*b*) evidence of school improvement?

14 Some years ago, the U.S. Army commissioned a research team to develop a prediction test to tell whether a man would be more effective in the tropics or the arctic. At considerable expense, the team presented a one-question test which was as reliably predictive as a longer test. The question: "Do you prefer hot weather or cold weather?" Was the money wasted?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Adams, Samuel Hopkins: "The Juke Myth," *Saturday Review*, April 2, 1955, pp. 13ff.; reprinted in Edgar A. Schuler et al. (eds.): *Readings in Sociology*, 5th ed., Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1974, pp. 41–45. An amusing account of the method whereby the author of a famous study arrived at some highly dubious conclusions about heredity and crime.

*Bates, Alan P., *The Sociological Enterprise*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1967. A brief paperback telling what sociologists do and how they become sociologists. Chap. 5, "Training for Careers in Sociology," and Chap. 6, "Careers in Sociology," are especially recommended.

Brenton, Myron: "Studies in the Aftermath," *Human Behavior*, May 1975, pp. 56–61. A short, readable article summarizing several studies of the effects of natural disasters upon the survivors.

Caplow, Theodore, Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, Reuben Hill, and Margaret Holmes Williamson: *Middletown Families: Fifty Years of Change and Continuity*, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1982. An impressionistic study, updating and elaborating upon the Lynds' studies of Middletown a half century ago.

Dynes, Russell R. *Organized Behavior in Disaster*, D. C. Heath and Company, Lexington, Mass., 1970. A summary of research on behavior in disaster situations, showing how different research procedures are used.

*Freeman, Howard E., and Clarence C. Sherwood. *Social Research and Social Policy*,

Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970. A brief statement of how social research can be designed to contribute to humane social policy.

Lantz, Herman R.: *People of Coal Town*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, 1971. A largely impressionistic case study of a community. Gives few statistics and no sweeping generalizations, but presents some hypotheses and interesting sociological description.

Levitan, Sar A.: "Evaluating Social Programs," *Society*, May/June 1977, pp. 66–68. A brief explanation of evaluation research.

Lin, Nan. *Foundations of Social Research*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1976. A standard textbook in research methods.

Loftus, Elizabeth: "The Incredible Eyewitness," *Psychology Today*, December 1974, pp. 116–119; or **Eyewitness Testimony*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1979. Comments upon the undependability of eyewitness identifications.

Roebuck, Julian B., and Wolfgang Frese: *The Rendevous. A Case Study of an After-Hours Club*, The Free Press, New York, 1976. An interesting participant-observer study of the "night people" at play.

*Saunders, William B. *The Sociologist as Detective: An Introduction to Research Methods*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1976. A simply written explanation and illustration of the types of social research study.

*Shostak, Arthur B. (ed.): *Putting Sociology to Work: Case Studies in the Application of Sociology to Modern Social Problems*, David McKay Company, Inc., New York, 1974. Shows how sociologists may share in sound action programs.

Statistical Abstract of the United States, published annually by the Bureau of the Census, and *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, published annually by the Newspaper Enterprise Association. Two useful sources of statistical and factual information on practically any subject, available in any library. Every student should be familiar with them.

* An asterisk before the citation indicates that the title is available in a paperback edition.

Society and the Individual

Many species enter the world fully able to care for themselves. All the behavior they need to find food, grow, and reproduce is already programmed within their genes. Most of them become some other creature's breakfast, but the few survivors go about their business already knowing what they should do and how to do it.

The human animal has no such programming. Without long tender care the human infant dies, for humans have few inborn behavior patterns. Without a society to protect them, all human infants would perish. Without a culture to provide behavior patterns to learn and follow, most humans would die before finding out how to survive.

Part Two explores how humans build societies and develop cultures, and how each person acquires a culture and becomes part of a society. Chapter 3, "The Cultural Context," studies the nature and development of culture. Chapter 4, "Personality and Socialization," shows how personality is shaped through the interaction of heredity, environment, culture, group experience, and unique experience. Chapter 5, "Role and Status," shows how most behavior is organized into a series of roles which people can fill easily only if properly prepared. Chapter 6, "Sexuality and Sex Roles," explores the nature of human sexual behavior and changing sex roles. Chapter 7, "Social Order and Social Control," shows how most people are led to act as they are socially expected to act much—but not all—of the time.

3 The Cultural Context

CULTURE AND SOCIETY
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT
Biological Factors
Geographic Factors
Nonhuman Social Organization
CULTURE AS A SYSTEM OF NORMS
Folkways
Mores
Institutions
Laws
Values
THE STRUCTURE OF CULTURE
Cultural Traits and Complexes
Subcultures and Countercultures
Cultural Integration
Cultural Relativism
REAL AND IDEAL CULTURE
ETHNOCENTRISM
Personality and Ethnocentrism
Effects of Ethnocentrism
XENOCENTRISM
CULTURE AND HUMAN ADJUSTMENT
Culture and Biological Adjustment
Culture and Social Adjustment
SUMMARY
GLOSSARY
QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS
SUGGESTED READINGS

A Totonac Indian from the vanilla-producing lowlands of Mexico's east coast found it hard to understand why American tourists wore such gaudy sport shirts, draped themselves with such large camera bags, bought so many useless trinkets, and always talked so loud. "Why are foreigners so queer?" he exclaimed, as he pointed to a group of tourists crowding onto a bus headed for the pyramids just north of Mexico City.

(Eugene A. Nida, "'Why Are Foreigners So Queer?' A Socioanthropological Approach to Cultural Pluralism," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 5:102, July 1981.)

What seems ordinary to people from one society may seem outlandish to those from another. An act can have different meanings in different societies. Just as a whale may be unaware that it floats in seawater, members of a society are generally unaware that they are following *belief* and *custom* in their behavior. They seldom wonder *why* they believe and act as they do. Only by imaginatively stepping outside one's own body of belief and custom can one become aware of its actual nature. From their life experiences people develop a set of rules and procedures for meeting their needs. The set of rules and procedures, together with a supporting set of ideas and values, is called a *culture*.

A person who is commonly considered "cultured" can identify operatic arias, read a French menu, and select the right fork. But people who are bored by the classics, belch in public, and speak in four-letter words also have culture. Like most sociological concepts, *culture* is a word with both a popular and a sociological meaning.

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

The classic definition of culture, framed by Sir Edward Tylor (1871, vol. 1, p. 1), reads, "Culture . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Stated more simply, *culture is everything which is socially learned and shared by the members of a society*. The individual receives culture as part of a social heritage and, in turn, may reshape the culture and introduce changes which then become part of the heritage of succeeding generations.

Culture may be divided into *material* and *nonmaterial culture*. Nonmaterial culture consists of the words people use, the ideas, customs, and beliefs they hold, and the habits they follow. Material culture consists of manufactured objects such as tools, furniture, automobiles, buildings, irrigation ditches, cultivated farms, roads, bridges, and, in fact, any physical substance which has been changed and used by people. Such manufactured objects are called *artifacts*. In the game of baseball, for instance, the gloves, bats, uniforms, and grandstands are a few elements of material culture. The nonmaterial culture would include the rules of the game, the skills of the players, the concepts of strategy, and the traditional behavior of players and spectators. The material culture is always the outgrowth of the nonmaterial culture and is meaningless without it. If the *game* of baseball is forgotten, a bat becomes just a stick of wood. Since the most important part of culture is the *heritage of ideas*, this nonmaterial culture will be the major emphasis of this book.

Culture is often confused with society, but the two words have different meanings. Whereas a culture is a system of norms and values, a *society is a relatively independent, self-perpetuating human group which occupies a territory, shares a culture, and has most of its associations within this group*.

A society is an organization of people whose associations are with one another. A *culture* is an organized system of norms and values

which people hold. Thus, the Plains Indians included a number of societies (which we call "tribes"), yet to a considerable extent they shared a similar culture. Adjoining societies may have quite different cultures, as with the United States and Mexico, or they may have quite similar cultures, as with the United States and Canada

With both concepts—society and culture—the boundaries are indistinct. Most societies have some contact with neighboring societies Many times in history two societies became so interwoven that they became one. Thus, many societies were absorbed into Roman society. Also, a single society may include groups of people who differ in culture, such as the French-, German-, and Italian-speaking segments of the Swiss population or the French- and English-speaking segments of the Canadian population.

TABLE 3-1
IF A MILLION YEARS* OF HUMAN HISTORY WERE COMPRESSED INTO THE LIFETIME OF ONE SEVENTY-YEAR-OLD PERSON

1,000,000 years of history	Compressed into one seventy-year lifetime
1,000,000 years ago	Pithecanthropus erectus is born.
500,000 years ago	Spent half a lifetime learning to make and use crude stone axes and knives.
10,000 years ago	Nine months ago, the last ice age over, left the cave dwellings.
5,000 years ago	About three months ago, began to cast and use metals and built the Pyramids.
2,000 years ago	Seven weeks ago, Christ was born.
200 years ago	Five days ago, crossed the Delaware with Washington.
80 years ago	Yesterday, the airplane was invented
11–15 years ago	This afternoon, landed on the moon, and in early evening, broke the DNA (genetic)
In the year 2000 A.D.	Tonight, celebrates the arrival of the twenty-first century!

*Or several million years, according to some anthropologists

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Biological Factors

The recent growth of a discipline known as sociobiology has drawn renewed attention to biological factors in human behavior. Sociobiology is defined by its most prominent advocate [E. Wilson, 1975, p. 4] as "the systematic study of the biological basis of human behavior." We shall look at some ways in which the interaction of biology and culture influence human behavior, starting with the development of human society

Cultural accumulation at first was very slow. People lived in the open or in caves; they used simple stone tools to skin animals and cut off chunks of meat; for digging edible roots, they probably used pointed sticks. There is some evidence that fire was used, but it is not known whether humans could make fire themselves or simply preserved fires started by lightning. During this period humans became skilled hunters, but there is considerable argument as to whether these early hominids were humans at all. Their cranial capacity was in the range of 425 to 725 cubic centimeters, which would give them a skull measurement similar to that of the ape and far below the 1,000 to 2,000 cubic-centimeters range of today.

An acceleration in cultural development did not take place until the appearance of Neanderthal man about 150,000 years ago, with a cranial capacity similar to that of modern man—averaging about 1,500 cubic centimeters. Humans now had enough brains to build a culture, but basic inventions such as the wheel, the plow, writing, and many others were needed before a complex culture was possible

SOCIAL EVOLUTION. Biological evolution was one of the exciting ideas of the nineteenth

century. While many scholars contributed to evolutionary theory, its most influential sponsor was the naturalist Charles Darwin. After traveling the world and classifying tens of thousands of present life forms and fossil traces of earlier life forms, he developed, in his *Origin of Species* (1859), the theory that the human race had gradually evolved from lower orders of life. This came about through the survival of those biological forms best fitted to survive. The early sociologists wondered if there might be an evolutionary pattern in the development of human culture and social life

Auguste Comte in his *Positive Philosophy* (1851–1854) wrote of three stages through which he believed human thought inevitably moved: the theological, the metaphysical (or philosophical), and finally the positive (or scientific). Herbert Spencer, a sociological "giant" of the nineteenth century, was enamored of "social Darwinism." He saw social evolution as a set of stages through which all societies moved from the simple to the complex and from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. Implicit in the thinking of both Comte and Spencer was an optimism which saw the progress of society unfolding in a way that would gradually end misery and increase human happiness.

Wars, depressions, and totalitarian governments dampened this optimism and made the idea of social evolution seem naive. The cultural relativists (defined on page 69) denied that one could speak of a "higher" or "lower" type of culture and claimed that every culture was simply one of many possible ways of coping with the environment. The anthropologists denied that the direction of change is always from the simple to the more complex and pointed out that many primitive tribes had a far more elaborate kinship system and more ritualistic and ceremonial life than do modern societies. Culture historians such as Spengler and Toynbee deny the existence of any upward linear progress. They claim that societies have moved in cycles in which democracy and dictatorship follow each other with each great civilization eventually destroyed by barbarians.

Ideas, however, are hard to kill The notion of social evolution,[1] which in the middle of the twentieth century seemed dead indeed, is very much alive today. One of the factors in its revival is the example of developing countries. As they become industrialized, they copy the technology and economic structures and many other features of the Western societies as a part of this "modernization" [Moore, 1963; Levy, 1967; Inkeles and Smith, 1974].

Are there common characteristics which all industrial societies share? Are there common patterns which developing countries must follow as they modernize? All steel mills, for example, must operate in much the same way and cannot shut down for an afternoon siesta. Modern technology brings many common cultural characteristics to any people who embrace modern technology

EVOLUTIONARY CHANGES AS SOCIETY INDUSTRIALIZES

Division of labor becomes more complex.
Bureaucracies grow in size and power
Birthrates and death rates fall
Inequality in [redacted].
Formal education increases.
Money and markets become important.
Kinship declines in importance.
Laws binding on all members of the society develop.

Source: Based upon Smelser, 1966, p. 111, Parsons, 1971, p. 5, Landis and Landis, 1962 p 364

[1] In our discussion of social evolution we are heavily indebted to Richard P. Appelbaum, *Theories of Social Change*, Markham Publishing Co., Chicago, 1970.

Geographic Factors

Climate and geography are undoubtedly factors in cultural development. Extremes of climate or topography are serious obstacles to many kinds of cultural development. Great civilizations do not flourish in the frozen Arctic, the torrid desert, the lofty mountain range or the tangled forest. People can live in these areas and may develop ingenious means of coping with natural forces, but such areas have not produced great cities or highly developed civilizations. On the other hand, the earliest great civilizations known to the world developed in the lowlands of great river basins. When one speaks of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, or India, one is talking primarily of the river valleys of the Nile, Euphrates, Tigris, and Indus. Only such areas met the requirements for an early civilization: (1) fertile land which could support a dense population, with part of the people free to engage in nonagricultural work, and (2) easy transportation to link together a large area.

Within the geographic extremes, however, it is hard to find any definite relationship. We can find too many examples of similar cultures in different climates and of different cultures in similar climates. For example, the Hopi and the Navajo have lived for centuries in the same area of the American Southwest. The Hopi are agriculturalists living in blocks of adobe apartment houses. The Navajo are sheep-herding nomads living in small, round, domed stick-and-mud houses. Their religion and family systems are very different. Dozens of such examples show that geographic environment sets certain limits but does not dictate any particular type of social life.

Nonhuman Social Organization

Many nonhuman species have an orderly system of social life. Many bird species mate for a lifetime and (in contrast to humans) are absolutely loyal to their mates. Many species of insects, such as ants and bees, have an elaborate pattern of social life, complete with specialized occupations, lines of authority, and detailed distribution of duties and privileges.

The organization of social life in animals above the insect level also shows many similarities to human society. This nonhuman social life may not be entirely determined by instinct. One of the best known instances is the pecking order in chickens [Guhl, 1953]. Establishment of dominance is as much a concern among chickens as among humans. The chicken yard is a highly stratified area in which some hens peck other hens without being pecked in return. Dominance is not granted automatically but is won either by fighting or by a convincing show of force. Once dominance is established, it tends to last for some time, and a hen which has been dominant in one group has an advantage when she moves into another poultry neighborhood. All this certainly sounds a bit similar to the determination of leadership in boys' [redacted].

Dominance patterns and territorial defense patterns appear among many species [Ardrey, 1966]. Nonhuman societies show many other similarities to human societies, yet the differences are far more impressive. Among each nonhuman species, social life tends to be uniform and unchanging. Each lion pride acts much like all other lion prides and, apparently, the same as lion prides have acted for ages. Among humans, social life is infinitely variable and continuously changing.

The most important difference between humans and other animals is the degree to which the life of other animals is based on instinct rather than learning. Human beings are notably lacking in those inborn patterns of behavior which we call *instincts* in nonhuman species. Instead, they inherit a set of organic needs, urges, and hungers which we call *drives*, which must be satisfied in some way or other. In their trial-and-error efforts

Some animals form social groups. (© *YLLA, Rapho-Photo Researchers, Inc.*)

to satisfy their urges, humans create culture, with its tremendous variations from society to society. Unable to rely upon instinct, human beings must build culture in order to survive. Culture is a type of substitute for instinct since it gives humans direction and frees them from perpetual trial and error.

LANGUAGE AND SYMBOLIC COMMUNICATIONS

Many animals can exchange feelings through growls, purrs, mating calls, and other sounds. Some animals give off odors or make bodily movements which convey meanings to one another. These sounds and motions are not *language*, for each is largely or entirely an inborn, instinctive response rather than an acquired, symbolic response. We do not know whether a dog growls or barks because it wants to tell another dog something; perhaps it barks because it feels like barking. As far as we know, no dog has yet developed a barking code (e.g., one short bark for "let's eat," two yips for "after you," etc.). A language is just such a code—*a set of sounds with a particular meaning attached to each sound*. A largely emotional or instinctive set of yips and yells is not a language, even though these sounds do serve to carry some accurate meanings to others of the species. A mother soon learns from her baby's cry whether it is hungry, sick, or angry; but the baby is expressing its emotions, not using language. Only when an *artificial* meaning is attached to each sound, so that the sound becomes a

symbol—only then do we have language. The idea of "chair" might be represented by any one of thousands of vocal sounds; when the members of a society agree in dependably recognizing one particular vocal sound as meaning "chair," then a *word* has been added to the language. We limit the term *language* to symbolic communication and exclude the exchange of meanings through instinctive cries and sounds as not being true language

Some highly popular books and magazine articles have coined the term "body language" for the exchange of meanings through gestures and body postures [Fast, 1970; Scheflen, 1973]. Some meanings probably are exchanged in this way. The question has received some scientific study [Ekman and Friesen, 1974; Henley, 1977; Druckman et al., 1982], but the current popularizations are largely based upon intuition and guesswork not upon scientific research. Furthermore, although "body language" may be a form of communication, it is not true *language*, since language is limited to communication through symbols.

Only human beings use symbols; therefore, only human communication reaches beyond the level of exchanging very simple feelings and intentions. With symbolic communication people can exchange detailed directions, share discoveries, organize elaborate activities. Without it, they would quickly revert to the caves and thickets.

Only the human race uses symbols.

ANIMAL "CULTURE" Animals can learn, they can form interacting groups and have a social life; they can even communicate with one another at a very simple level. Some animals use objects as tools. For example, the Galápagos finch selects a suitable twig, pokes it into a crack in the tree bark, and gobbles up insects and spiders which scuttle out. It then saves the twig for the next poke [Smullen, 1978].

Chimpanzees have been taught to recognize a few words in both sign language [Gardner and Gardner, 1969] and plastic symbols [Premack, 1971]. Two chimpanzees which became famous because of their role in these experiments, Washoe and Sarah, can even produce their own messages. As Goodall and others have shown, chimpanzees have a greater capacity to form attachments, feel emotion, and make humanlike responses than people had ever imagined [Scarf, 1973; Goodall, 1978]. Such data lead some scientists to conclude that animals can have a culture [D. Hanson, 1973].

There is no evidence, however, that chimpanzees use anything like language in the wild [Lancaster, 1975; p. 71]. It is doubtful if any nonhumans can understand syntax or form sentences much less teach these skills to one another [Terrace, 1979].

A dog can be trained not to eat until given the signal by its master. But we cannot imagine a hungry dog passing up a juicy morsel because dogs have reached a collective opinion that a particular food, although nutritious, is quite unsuitable for a proper "gentledog." The conclusion of most social scientists is that only humans have a culture

CULTURE AS A SYSTEM OF NORMS

Since culture includes the ways in which things should be done, we say that culture is

Animals both resemble and differ from humans in behavior.
(*Susan Kuklin/Photo Researchers, Inc.*)

normative, which is another way of saying that it defines standards of conduct. For shaking hands, we extend the right hand; this is proper in our culture. For scratching our heads we may use either hand; our culture has no norm for head scratching.

The term "norm" has two possible meanings. A *statistical norm* is a measure of what actually exists; a *cultural norm* is a concept of what is expected to exist. Sometimes the statistical norm is referred to as the "real" culture and the cultural norm as the "ideal" culture. Often people do not distinguish between the two norms. The famous Kinsey studies sought to find some statistical norms of sexual behavior in the United States. The effort infuriated many people who confused statistical with cultural norms. A statistical norm is a measure of actual *conduct* with no suggestion of approval or disapproval. A cultural norm is a set of behavior *expectations*, a cultural image of how people are supposed to act. A culture is an elaborate system of such norms—of standardized, expected ways of feeling and acting—which the members of a society generally acknowledge and generally follow. These norms are of several kinds and several degrees of compulsion, as seen in the following classification. Most of these concepts were developed by the early sociologist William Graham Sumner in his *Folkways*, published in 1906.

Folkways

Social life everywhere is full of problems—how to wrest a living from nature, how to divide the fruits of toil or good fortune, how to relate ourselves agreeably to one another, and many others. Human beings seem to have tried every possible way of dealing with such problems. Different societies have found a wide variety of workable patterns. A group may eat once, twice, or several times each day; they may eat while standing, seated in chairs, or squatting on the ground; they may eat together, or each may eat in privacy; they may eat with their fingers or use some kind of utensils, they may start with wine and end with fish, start with fish and end with wine, or reject both. And so it goes for thousands of items of behavior Each trait is a selection from a number of possibilities, all of which are more or less workable. Through trial and error, sheer accident, or some unknown influence, a group arrives at one of these possibilities, repeats it, and accepts it as the normal way of meeting a particular need. It is passed on to succeeding generations and becomes one of the ways of the folk—hence, a folkway. *Folkways are simply the customary, normal, habitual ways a group does things.* Shaking hands, eating with knives and forks, wearing neckties on some occasions and sport shirts on others, driving on the right-hand side of the street, and eating toast for breakfast are a few of our many American folkways.

New generations absorb folkways partly by deliberate teaching but mainly by observing and taking part in life about them. Children are surrounded by folkways. Since they constantly see these ways of doing things, they come to believe these are the only real ways Customs of other groups appear as quaint oddities and not as practical, sensible ways of getting things done.

Even the most primitive society will have hundreds of folkways, modern, industrialized societies have thousands. Sorting out the proper folkway becomes so difficult that Emily Post was able to earn a fortune as an interpreter of our folkways, even though her fat volume does not catalog those followed by all Americans but lists only some of the nonoccupational folkways of the urban upper class. Visitors to a foreign country may need an etiquette book, lest they give offense.

Mores

Some folkways are more important than others. If one uses the wrong fork for one's salad, this is not very important, but if, in our society, a woman chooses anyone but her husband to sire her child, many aspects of financial obligation, property inheritance rights, family relationships, and sentimental linkage become disrupted. We therefore recognize two classes of folkways: (1) those which should be followed as a matter of good manners and polite behavior and (2) those which *must* be followed because they are believed essential to group welfare. These ideas of right and wrong which attach to certain folkways are then called *mores.* By *mores* we mean *those strong ideas of right and wrong which require certain acts and forbid others.* (*Mores* is the plural of the Latin word *mos,* but the singular form rarely appears in sociological literature)

Members of a society normally share a sublime faith that violation of their mores will bring disaster upon them. Outsiders, however, often see that at least some of the group's mores are irrational. They may include food taboos which make cattle, hogs, or horses unfit to eat, modesty taboos which forbid exposure of the face, the ankle, the wrist, the breast, or whatever is considered "immodest"; language taboos which forbid misuse of certain sacred or obscene words, and many others. Such taboos seem very important to their believers but may be entirely unknown in other cultures and may have no necessary connection with group welfare. It is not necessary that the act forbidden by the mores

TOURISTS NEED CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

Even a friendly grin can go wrong. Americans usually smile when shaking hands, but some German-speaking people find smiles too affectionate for new business acquaintances. So, while you're sizing up a German as a cold fish, he or she may be pegging you as the overly familiar type.

Try to break the ice in Germany with the "Wie geht's?" ("How goes it?") you got from watching war movies, and you'll be twice wrong. The expression is too informal and the question too personal for first encounters.

In Chinese-speaking areas, though, inquiring after a person's health is a proper first greeting, especially for the elderly.

But compliments are tricky in the Orient. You exchange them more readily there than in the U.S., but pay a Chinese-speaking person a compliment and he or she will surely decline it. Disagreeing is merely the way they accept praise. So if an Oriental compliments you, best be modest about it.

You can get into trouble by being too complimentary about objects in a Chinese or Japanese home; your host may feel obliged to give you the item.

The French are also evasive about compliments. They never say "merci" in response to praise, and if you respond to a compliment with "thanks," a French-speaking person could even interpret it as ridicule.

Formality is a must in France. Frenchmen who have worked side by side in an office for decades stick to formal pronouns when addressing each other, unless they also happen to have been school or military buddies.

And while using first names in business encounters is regarded as an American vice in many countries, nowhere is it found more offensive than in France.

Hand gestures are far from international. Italians wave goodbye with palm up and fingers moving back and forth—a beckoning signal to Americans. But when people wave the fingers with the palm down in China, Japan, and other Oriental areas, it's not goodbye—they mean "come here."

People who speak a romance language use more hand gestures than most Americans, but you can go wrong imitating them. For example, if you form a circle with thumb and forefinger, most Europeans will know you mean "it's the best," or "O.K." But in some Latin American countries the same gesture has a vulgar connotation.

The easiest place to have a gesture misunderstood abroad is in someone's home. Bearing gifts is expected in Japan, but can be considered a bribe in the Soviet Union. Portuguese and Brazilians like to bring foreigners home for dinner, but when it's time for you to go, politeness may compel them to insist that you stay. In some countries punctuality is expected; in others the custom is to arrive late. No matter where you go abroad, you can never assume that your best table manners will carry the day. You need a thorough rundown on local etiquette before you visit.

(Reprinted from the December issue of *Business Week* by special permission. © 1977, by McGraw-Hill, New York, 10020)

Within each modern country, etiquette varies among ethnic groups, regions, and social classes. Have you ever made a social blunder because of such differences?

should actually be injurious. If people *believe* that the act is injurious, it is condemned by the mores. Mores are *beliefs* in the rightness or wrongness of acts.

The irrationality of mores should not be exaggerated. Some mores are based upon a very genuine cause-and-effect relationship. For example, random killings would threaten group survival and individual peace of mind; therefore, every known society has condemned the killing of a fellow member of that society (except under certain specified

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

income Most of the Reformation churchmen, both Catholic and Protestant, who ordered the torture and burning of heretics were not cruel or evil but were decent and often kindly men who did what the mores of the time and place required them to do. Mores of our recent past have approved child labor, slavery, and persecution of minorities and have condemned pacifism, woman suffrage, and sex education. At all times and places good people feel pure and righteous when following their mores, whatever they may be

Institutions

Some clusters of folkways and mores are more important than others; for example, those concerned with forming families and raising children are more important than those concerned with playing football Organized clusters of folkways and mores dealing with highly important activities are embodied in the *social institutions* of the society. Institutions include behavior norms, values and ideals, and systems of social relationships. For a formal definition we suggest: *An institution is an organized system of social relationships which embodies certain common values and procedures and meets certain basic needs of the society.* In most complex societies there are five "basic" institutions—family life, religion, government, education, and organization of economic activities. In modern societies, science is institutionalized. Beyond these, the concept tapers off into less significant clusters of behavior patterns like those surrounding baseball, hunting, or beekeeping, which are sometimes loosely called institutions but probably should not be included because they are so much less important.

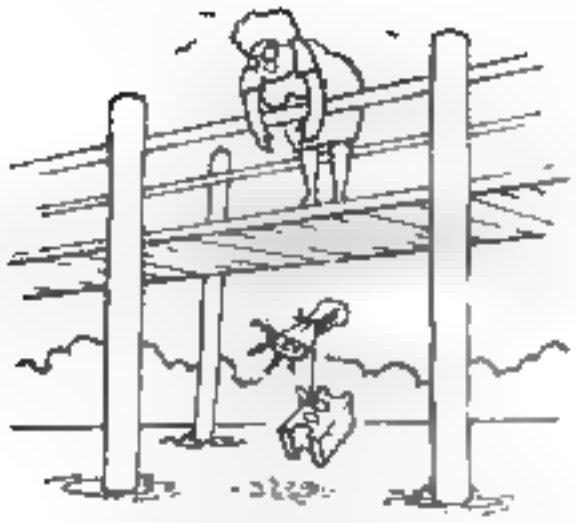
Institutions are among the most formal and compelling of the norms of a society. When the folkways and mores surrounding an important activity become organized into a quite formal, binding system of belief and behavior, an institution has developed. For example, banking, corporate enterprise, investment markets, checking accounts, and collective bargaining are economic institutions which began with simple barter thousands of years ago and passed through many stages of development An institution thus includes (1) a set of behavior patterns which have become highly standardized, (2) a set of supporting mores, attitudes, and values, and (3) a body of traditions, rituals and ceremonies, symbols and vestments, and other paraphernalia. Social institutions will be treated in detail in later chapters but are introduced here because the concept must be used throughout our discussion.

Laws

While some mores function simply as mores, there is a strong tendency for them to become incorporated into the laws of a society. Many people will obey mores automatically or because they want to do the "right" thing. A few people, however, are tempted to violate mores. These people may be forced to conform by the threat of legal punishment. Thus, the law serves to reinforce the mores. Those who still will not conform are punished, imprisoned, or even executed. Sometimes laws are passed which do not really harmonize with mores, and their enforcement then becomes difficult or even impossible.

One example of this is the Eighteenth Amendment, passed in 1919, which outlawed the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquor.

Sometimes laws do not harmonize with the mores.



No legislation, for instance decreed the end of corsets for women.

The law was bitterly opposed by a sizeable proportion of the population and was repealed in 1933 when it became obvious that enforcement was impossible. Many people today would say the same is true of laws prohibiting the sale and possession of marijuana. Laws against ethnic discrimination did not reflect everyone's views when they were passed but are defended on the ground that they "educate" and thus promote a change in the mores which leads to an eventual willingness to observe such laws.

Mores do change, and the actions they command in one era, they may forbid in another. The change, however, is seldom conscious and deliberate but is a gradual adaptation to changing circumstances. Sumner referred to this kind of change as *crescive*, a type of natural development little affected by conscious human decisions [Sumner, 1940, pp. 53–55]. No legislature, for instance, decreed the end of corsets for women; they were simply phased out as more relaxed lifestyles made them needless. Similarly, it was not formal changes in the laws but a change of beliefs which finally ended the burning of witches.

This discussion of law as a codified expression of the mores is a functionalist view of law. Conflict sociologists see law as a tool of the powerful in controlling and exploiting the powerless. They see law as a means of legitimizing exploitation, while police and courts enforce the arrangements whereby some maintain their privileges at the expense of the underprivileged [Krisberg, 1975; Quinney, 1977]. Both views are correct. In any complex society, law enforces the mores and also protects and preserves the social system in which there are always some who are more privileged than others.

Values

Mores are ideas about whether acts are right or wrong. *Values are ideas about whether experiences are important or unimportant.* For example, there is no moral debate about whether classical music is right or wrong. But while some people consider hearing Beethoven's Ninth Symphony one of life's great experiences, for others it is a crashing bore. People who highly value physical fitness will exercise regularly and watch their food and drink. Values thus guide a persons' judgments and behavior.

In each society, some values are prized more highly than others. Punctuality, material progress, and competition are major values in American society, while none of these is important to the Hopi Indians. The members of a simple society generally are closely agreed upon a single set of values, while complex societies develop conflicting value systems. For example, is it more important to promote maximum economic development or to protect the environment? Should people develop individuality or be responsive to group opinion? Is change better than stability? Would a return to the "simple life" be a gain or a loss? Value disagreements are endless in complex societies, and values change from time to time. Value shifts also affect the folkways and mores. For example, the value shift toward sexual permissiveness is changing the mores of courtship, legal decisions about "palimony," and patterns of family life.

Meanwhile, the Moral Majority and others are making a determined effort to restore traditional sex and family values.

Value is closely related to price [Mitchell, 1968, p. 218]. Price is the money cost of a good or service, and the price one will pay measures how highly one values one good or service compared to others.

Values are an important part of every culture. An act is considered "legitimate"—that is, morally acceptable—when it is in harmony with accepted values. When our values defined the admirable woman as dutiful, domestic, and dependent, it was "legitimate" to discourage higher education for women; now that we increasingly admire women who are self-reliant, independent, and successful, higher education for women is considered legitimate and necessary.

THE STRUCTURE OF CULTURE

A culture is not simply an accumulation of folkways and mores; it is an *organized system* of behavior. Let us see some of the ways in which culture is organized

Cultural Traits and Complexes

The smallest unit of culture is called a *trait*. Hoebel's definition [1949, p. 499] is: "A reputedly irreducible unit of learned behavior pattern or material product thereof." Traits of the material culture would include such things as the nail, the screwdriver, the pencil, and the handkerchief. Nonmaterial culture traits would include such actions as shaking hands, driving on the right-hand side of the road, kissing to show affection, or saluting the flag. Each culture includes thousands of traits.

Is the dance a trait? No; it is a collection of traits, including the dance steps, some formula for selecting the performers, and a musical or rhythmic accompaniment. Most important of all, the dance has a meaning—

Material culture consists of any physical substance which has been changed by human intervention.

as a religious ceremonial, a magical rite, a courtship activity, a festive orgy, or something else. All these elements combine to form a *culture complex*, a cluster of related traits. Another cluster of objects, skills, and attitudes forms the surfing complex.[2] Dozens more could be added

The culture complex is intermediate between the trait and the institution. An institution is a series of complexes centering upon an important activity. Thus, the family includes the dating complex, the engagement-and-wedding complex, the honeymoon complex, the child-care complex, and several others. Some complexes are parts of institutions; others, revolving around less important activities—such as stamp collecting—are simply independent complexes.

Subcultures and Countercultures

Every modern society includes some groups of people who share some complexes which are not shared by the rest of that society. Immigrant groups, for example, develop a blend of the culture of their host nation and of the mother country. The rich have a lifestyle very different from that of the poor. The

[2] The term *complex*, as used in sociology, should not be confused with its use in psychology (e.g., inferiority complex) where the meaning is entirely different.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

natives show horror at the idea of violating the rules of exogamy and that they believe that sores, disease and even death might follow clan incest. .

[But] from the point of view of the native libertine, *sulusulu* (the breach of exogamy) is indeed a specially interesting and spicy form of erotic experience. Most of my informants would not only admit but actually did boast of having committed this offense or that of adultery (*kaylasi*); and I have many concrete, well-attested cases on record. (Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., London, 1926, pp. 79, 84. Used with permission of Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., and Humanities Press, Inc.)

As in all societies, the Trobrianders have some standardized ways of evading punishment. Malinowski [p. 81] observes, "Magic to undo the consequences of clan incest is perhaps the most definite instance of methodical evasion of law."

This case illustrates the difference between the real and ideal culture. The *ideal culture* includes the formally approved folkways and mores which people are supposed to follow (the cultural norms); the *real culture* consists of those which they actually practice (the statistical norms). For example, Warriner [1958] found that in Kansas, a legally "dry" state at the time of his research, many people drank in private while supporting the "temperance" morality in public. He concluded that the official morality served to prevent a disruptive public controversy, without interfering with their drinking behavior. There are many such divergences between the real and the ideal culture in our society.

A clash between the real and ideal culture patterns is generally avoided by some kind of rationalization which allows people to "eat their cake and have it, too." For example, Lowie [1940, p. 379] describes some Burmese villages which were Buddhist and whose inhabitants were therefore forbidden to kill any living thing, yet the villagers were dependent upon the murderous occupation of fishing. They evaded this contradiction by not literally killing the fish, which "are merely put out on the bank to dry after their long soaking in the river, and if they are foolish enough to die while undergoing the process, it is their own fault." Some such evasions and rationalizations are a part of every culture. In America, for example, many environmental issues are "settled" by passing stern antipollution laws to make the environmentalists happy and then "bending" these laws whenever they seriously inconvenience the polluters. A strict enforcement of highway speed limits might arouse so much argument and hostility among drivers who were only a little over the speed limit as to make the entire system unworkable, so a margin of about 10 miles an hour is generally permitted. Thus, the stated 55-mile-an-hour speed limit (ideal culture) becomes a 65-mile-an-hour limit in practice (real culture).

Practical compromises are universal. In some primitive societies courtship and marriage rituals are so cumbersome and costly that most marriages occur through elopement, which is "indecent." If the couple are unusually awkward, they may be caught and severely beaten, but ordinarily they are able to make good their escape. After a period of penance, they are welcomed back into the social group. Thus the society can maintain a public morality without disrupting a useful practice. Such "adjustments" between real and ideal culture are found in all societies.

ETHNOCENTRISM

There is an Eskimo tribe who call themselves the *Inuit*, which translates as "the real people" [Herbert, 1973, p. 2]. Sumner called this outlook *ethnocentrism*, formally defined as "that view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" [Sumner, 1906, p. 13]. Stated less formally, ethnocentrism is the habit of each group taking

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

ethnocentric as a defense against our own inadequacies. At one time, it was believed that social science had established a definite link between personality patterns and ethnocentrism. In *The Authoritarian Personality*, Adorno [1950] found that ethnocentric people tended to be less educated, more socially withdrawn, and religiously more orthodox. In this approach, ethnocentrism was defined primarily as intense and uncritical loyalty to an ethnic or national group along with prejudice against other ethnic or national groups. The trouble with this definition is that it excludes some other types of ethnocentrism. If an uncritical loyalty to the views of one's group is to be the test of ethnocentrism, then members of supposedly liberal and educated circles may be just as ethnocentric as those in conservative and uneducated circles. The conservatives may be uncritical of religious orthodoxy and national patriotism and quite sure of the superiority of their own ethnic group. The self-styled liberal may be equally rigid in the opposite direction: sure that the national foreign policy is always wrong, that orthodox religion is mere superstition, and that business people, blue-collar workers, and politicians are invariably either stupid or corrupt [Greeley, 1970; Hoffer, 1969; Lerner, 1969, Lipset and Ladd, 1972].

Ethnocentrism may be appealing because it reaffirms the individual's "belongingness" to the group while it offers comfortingly simple explanations of complex social phenomena. The old, the socially secluded, the less educated, and the politically conservative may be ethnocentric, but the young, the well educated, the widely traveled, the politically "left," and the well-to-do may also be [Ray, 1971; Wilson et al, 1976]. It is debatable whether there is any significant variation, by social background or personality type, in the degree to which people are ethnocentric.

Effects of Ethnocentrism

Is ethnocentrism good or bad for people? First, we should have to decide how to define "good" and "bad," and even then we might find the question very unsettled. Ethnocentrism gets us into many of our muddles, yet it is doubtful whether groups can survive without it.

PROMOTION OF GROUP UNITY, LOYALTY AND MORALE. Ethnocentric groups seem to survive better than tolerant groups. Ethnocentrism justifies sacrifice and sanctifies martyrdom. The attitude, "I prefer my customs, although I recognize that, basically, they may be no better than yours," is not the sort of faith for which dedicated believers will march singing to their deaths.

Ethnocentrism reinforces nationalism and patriotism. Without ethnocentrism, a vigorous national consciousness is probably impossible. Nationalism is but another level of group loyalty. Periods of national tension and conflict are always accompanied by intensified ethnocentric propaganda. Perhaps such a campaign is a necessary emotional preparation for the expected sacrifices.

PROTECTION AGAINST CHANGE. If our culture is already superior, then why tinker with

ETHNOCENTRISM AND AFRICAN PLACE NAMES

Before African rule	After African rule
Dahomey	Benin
Belgian Congo	Zaire
Gold Coast	Ghana
Nyasaland	Malawi
Leopoldville	Kinshasa
Lorenco Marques	Maputo
Bathurst	Banjul
Fort Lamy	Njamea
Southwest Africa	Namibia
Tanganyika	Tanzania
Rhodesia	Zimbabwe

Note: This is a case of ethnocentrism on both sides. Europeans tended to select names which emphasized European influence while Africans reversed the process when they gained power.
Source: Adapted from Larry Heinzerling, "Spirit of Black Nationalism Still Evident in Africa's New Names," *AP*, April 1, 1976.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

> No sooner did the ocean crossing become comfortable than the expatriates [Americans leaving their country] began their flight across the Atlantic to the more congenial cultural climate of the old world . . . the criticism of American materialism, . . . once associated with aristocrats, [was] now voiced by intellectuals, "Coca-colization"; that is of pervasive vulgarization of life. The United States was regarded as the source, or at least the prototype, of a culture built upon possession, upon the diffusion of an idolatry for material things; and it was on this account judged harshly. (Oscar Handlin, "Liberal Democracy and the Image of America," *Freedom at Issue*, 43, November/December, 1977, pp. 14–15. Reprinted by permission.)

Those who leave their country to live abroad are not the only ones who reject ethnocentrism. In every society a few persons reject their group or some part of its culture. There are anti-Semitic Jews, blacks who reject black identity, aristocrats who lead revolutions, priests who abandon their faith, and so on. This rejection of one's group or its culture is a form of deviant behavior that will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Is there any rational basis for xenocentrism or is it just a form of shallow snobbery? Revisionist historians who blame America for all the world's troubles and radical critics who pounce gleefully upon every imperfection in "Amerika" but are blind to brutality and genocide in Communist and Third World countries may be as irrational as the most ethnocentric flag-waver.

CULTURE AND BIOLOGY

A survey by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) warned that a growing preference for bottle feeding over breast feeding in urban areas "has a dramatic impact on child malnutrition in low-income groups," because unlike sterile and nutritious mothers' milk, overdiluted or unsanitary formula can promote intestinal disorders and hasten the onset of malnutrition.

(*Agenda*, 1, May 1978, p. 21.)

Are there any other "modern" practices which developing peoples might be wise to ignore?

CULTURE AND HUMAN ADJUSTMENT

Is culture a help or a burden to human beings? Some of each. It helps them to solve some problems, gets in their way as they grapple with others, and itself creates still others.

Culture and Biological Adjustment

Culture contains many gadgets which help people in their unremitting battle with nature. Since people suffer in cold and hot weather, they wear clothes and build houses. Nature offers wild fruit, seeds, and berries; people domesticate them and increase their yield. Hands are poor shovels, but bulldozers remake the surface of the earth. Human beings cannot run fast, swim well, or fly at all; yet no other living thing travels so fast as they. Humans are fragile, delicate beings, quick prey to death through heat or cold, thirst or hunger. Through culture they can moisten the desert and dry the swampland, can survive arctic cold and tropic heat, and can even survive a trip through outer space.

While culture helps people adjust to their environment, it also interferes with their biological adjustment in many ways. Every culture offers many examples of patterns harmful to physical well-being. The Hindu belief that people should not kill anything has filled India with stray dogs, scrawny cattle, and all manner of parasites, thus wasting food and spreading diseases. Through culture we have improved our weapons until we can destroy the entire human race. We follow methods of agriculture and land use which destroy the soil and flood the land. We pollute the air,

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Report on similarities and differences in communication between chimpanzees and humans.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Arens, W., and Susan P. Montague: *The American Dimension: Cultural Myths and Social Realities*, Alfred Publishing Company, New York, 1976. Basic themes in American life as exemplified in the culture, such as soap opera as a clue to American kinship patterns, football as an example of coordination through division of labor, and poker as an illustration of the myth that one can gain wealth through individual effort!

*Barash, David P.: *Sociobiology and Behavior*, Elsevier Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1977. A brief, readable book dealing primarily with behavior in animals, but also including some speculation on a possible human "biogram."

Clark, Matt, and Mana Gosnell: "The New Gene Doctors," *Newsweek*, 96:120–123, May 18, 1981. A brief and readable article on the social implications of developments in genetic research.

Ellis, Lee: "The Decline and Fall of Sociology, 1975–2000," *The American Sociologist* 12:56–65, May 1977. A quasi-satirical article which predicts that sociology is soon to be supplanted by sociobiology, with rejoinders by Barash, Homans, Kunkel, Lenski, Mazur, and Van den Berghe

*Etzioni, Amitai. *Genetic Fix*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1973. Sociological analysis of issues involved in "genetic counseling."

Frankel, Charles. "The Specter of Eugenics," *Commentary*, 57:25–33, March 1974. A philosopher looks at the promise and danger of producing human types on demand by altering the genes.

Jencks, Christopher: "Heredity, Environment and Public Policy Reconsidered," *American Sociological Review*, 45:723–736, October 1980. Develops the idea that the effects of heredity depend on the interaction of the inherited trait with the environmental situation.

Langer, John: "Drug Entrepreneurs and Dealing Culture," *Social Problems*, 24:377–386, February 1977. Describes the conflict between the drug dealer as business entrepreneur and as participant in a counterculture.

Linton, Ralph: *The Study of Man: An Introduction*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1936. A classic analysis of the role of culture in human affairs. Chaps. 5, 6, 20, and 25 are especially recommended

McGehee, Charles L.: "Spiritual Values and Sociology: When We Have Debunked Everything, What Then?" *American Sociologist*, 17:40–46, February 1982. Argues the importance of values as a vital part of the culture.

Miner, Horace: "Body Ritual among the Nacirema," *American Anthropologist*, 58:503–507, June 1956; The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, reprint S-185. An anthropologist describes quaint customs and odd values of a well-known modern culture which the student may recognize.

Podhoretz, Norman: "The New Inquisitors," *Commentary*, 55:7–8, April 1973. A brief analysis of the development and enforcement of ethnocentric attitudes among liberal intellectuals on college campuses.

*Reed, John Shelton: *The Enduring South: Subcultural Persistence in Mass Society*, Heath Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass., 1972. A brief and lively sketch of the factors which make for the persistence of a distinctive subculture in the American South.

Stine, Gerald James. *Biosocial Genetics: Human Heredity and Social Issues*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1977. A primer for those interested in the social impact of genetic engineering.

Westhues, Kenneth: *Society's Shadow: Studies in the Sociology of Countercultures*, McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., Toronto, 1972. A readable description of countercultures from the perspective of the sociology of religion

* An asterisk before the citation indicates that the title is available in a paperback edition

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

How many of the needs of the infant monkey could this substitute "mother" fulfill? (*Harry Harlow/Wisconsin Primate Laboratory*)

they clung when frightened. As infants they seemed satisfied with this substitute "mother," but as adults they were almost entirely asocial. Many were apathetic and withdrawn; others were hostile and aggressive. None showed the social group behavior of normal adult monkeys. Apparently the substitute mother met the infant's need for affection and security but was unable to carry the monkey through any further stages of psychosocial development. Some did not even mate as adults. Those who eventually became mothers were neglectful and abusive, showing none of the normal "mothering" behavior [Harlow, 1975; Greenberg, 1977; Prescott, 1979]. Monkeys apparently need to receive mother love as infants in order to express it as adults.

Other animal experiments show similar failures of isolated animals to develop the adult behavior normal for their species [Krout, 1942, pp. 102–105]. Of course, monkeys are not human beings, and we should be careful about drawing inferences from behavior parallels. But it is interesting to note that Harlow's account of the effects of maternal deprivation in monkeys correspond so closely with observations of the effects of maternal deprivation in humans [Spitz, 1965]. It appears that both monkeys and humans need intimate group experience if they are to develop into normal adults.

REFERENCE GROUPS Throughout one's life certain groups are important as models for one's ideas and conduct norms. Such groups are called *reference groups*. At first, the family group is the most important, since it is the only group most infants have when they are most impressionable. All authorities agree that the basic personality characteristics of the individual are formed in these first years within the family [White, 1975; Shaffer and Dunn, 1982]. Somewhat later, the *peer group*—other persons of the same age and status—becomes important as a reference group. A child's failure to gain social acceptance in its peer group is often followed by a lifelong pattern of social rejection and social failure. Unless one has had a fair measure of child and adolescent peer group acceptance, it is difficult if not impossible for one to develop an adult self-image as a competent and worthwhile person. For this reason, perceptive

Reference groups are important models.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

vorite toy when he was 3 years old. But it is possible that such a traumatic episode might become the first of a series of mutual rejection experiences and thus color the meaning of a great many later experiences. This means that each person's experience is an infinitely complicated network of millions of incidents, each gaining its meaning and impact from all those which have preceded it. Small wonder that personality is complex!

Still another factor appears in the selection of roles to play within the family. Children imitate each other a great deal, but they also strive for separate identities. Younger children often reject those activities which their older siblings already do well and seek recognition through other activities. Parents may unwittingly aid this selection process. Mother may say, "Susie is mama's little helper, but I guess Annie is going to be a tomboy," whereupon Susie starts clearing the table while Annie turns a few handsprings. Sometimes a child in a well-behaved family selects the "bad boy" role, and scowls impressively while his parents describe their problem to visitors. In large families a child may be hard pressed to find a role not already annexed by an older sibling. Thus, in these and many other respects each person's life experience is unique—unique in that nobody else has had exactly this set of experiences, and unique in that nobody else has the same background of experience upon which each new incident will impinge and from which it will draw its meaning.

THEORIES OF PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

Several scholars have advanced some interesting theories of personality development. None is "proved" by the kind of empirical evidence or research experiments which establish, for example, that germs cause disease or that self-confidence improves performance. Each is a provocative theory which explains a complicated matter in a believable way.

Cooley and the Looking-glass Self

Just how does a person arrive at a notion of the kind of person he or she is? This concept of self is developed through a gradual and complicated process which continues throughout life. The concept is an image that one builds only with the help of others. Suppose a girl is told by her parents and relatives how pretty she looks. If this is repeated often enough, consistently enough, and by enough different people, she eventually comes to feel and act like a beautiful person. There is convincing research evidence that beautiful people actually *are* treated more indulgently and are seen as more intelligent, altruistic, and admirable than other people [Berscheid and Walster, 1974; Wilson and Nias, 1976; Cash and Salzbach, 1978; Murphy, 1981]. The beautiful people often appear to be more poised and self-assured than ugly ducklings, for they are judged and treated differently [Schwebbe and Schwebbe, 1982]. But even a pretty girl will never really believe that she is pretty if, beginning early in life, her parents act disappointed and apologetic over her and treat her as unattractive. *A person's self-image need bear no relation to the objective facts.* A very ordinary child whose efforts are appreciated and rewarded will develop a feeling of acceptance and self-confidence, while a truly brilliant child whose efforts are frequently defined as failures may become obsessed with feelings of incompetence, and its abilities can be practically paralyzed. It is through the responses of others that a child decides whether it is intelligent or stupid, attractive or homely, lovable or unlovable, righteous or sinful, worthy or worthless. A recent guidebook [Samuels, 1977] tells in detail how a child should be treated if it is to develop a confident self-image.

Thus "self" which is discovered through the reactions of others has been labeled the "look-

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

a satisfactory self-image and an integrated system of behavior. One may resolve this problem by compartmentalizing one's life and acting differently in each group or by conforming to one group while, if possible, ignoring any others whose standards conflict with those of that one group. Failure to do either may bring confusion and maladjustment. While there are common elements in the experience of all people and even more in the experience of people within a particular society, each person is still unique.

GLOSSARY

ego, superego, and id Freudian concepts. The *id* is the instinctive, antisocial, selfish desires and impulses of the individual. The *superego* is the social ideals and values which one has internalized and which form the conscience. The *ego* is the conscious and rational part of the self which oversees the restraint of the id by the superego.

feral children children supposedly reared apart from human society and therefore unsocialized

generalized other the totality of values and standards of one's community or one's social group whose judgments one applies to one's own behavior in forming one's concept of self

identity crisis for Erikson, one of eight major turning points in life when important directions in personality development are taken. Popularly used for any period of uncertainty

looking-glass self perception of the self that one forms by interpreting the reactions of other people to oneself

modal personality a personality configuration typical of most members of a group or society.

peer group a group of one's "equals," usually similar persons with whom one habitually associates.

personality the totality of behavior of an individual with a given tendency system interacting with a sequence of situations

reference group any group accepted as model or guide for one's judgments or actions.

self a person's awareness of, and attitudes toward, one's own person.

social isolates organisms lacking normal social contacts with other members of their species.

socialization process by which one internalizes the norms of that person's groups so that a unique self emerges

unique experience the total experience of a person, which no other person exactly duplicates

QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1 How do we know that personality is not simply the maturing and unfolding of inherited tendencies?

2 What might be some possible differences in social life and human personality if human infants were normally born (and nursed) in litters instead of one at a time?

3 In what way is the question of heredity and environment a political issue?

4 It has been said that a person raised in one culture may learn to act like people in an adopted culture but will never to able to think and feel like a person of the adopted culture. Do you agree?

5 Suppose the Dobuans were visited by a man who persistently acted in a straightforward, trusting, confident manner. Tell why you believe they would or would not
   a Admire him
   b Copy him
   c Fear him
   d Pity him

6 If culture develops similarities in personality within a society, how do we explain personality differences within a society? Are such personality differences greater within a simple or a complex society? Why?

7 How would you explain the fact that groups which have a major socializing influence upon one person may leave another person in the same vicinity unaffected?

8 Comment on this statement: "What I really am is more important to me than what other people think of me."

9 Why are some beautiful and talented people so unsure of themselves?

10 How is the self a social product?

11 How do games contribute

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Role training begins early. (*Suzanne Szasz/Photo Researchers, Inc.*)

he is simply playing his own role, that of child. At first he may have little understanding of the reasons underlying a father's actions, but this understanding grows and his "pretend" roles will help prepare him for the time when he actually becomes a father. At a more mature level "pretend" role taking has been a helpful aid in assisting people to understand reactions of others in a diagnostic and therapeutic technique known as *psychodrama*, developed by Moreno [1940] and others. A husband, for example, may take the role of the wife while she takes his role as they reenact some recent discussion or conflict in an unrehearsed dialogue. As each tries to take the part of the other, voicing the other's complaints and defenses, each may gain greater insight into the other's feelings and reactions.

The concept of role implies a set of expectations. We expect to act in certain ways, and we expect other people to act in certain ways. Whether a new role is pretend or genuine, one must analyze one's own behavior and the behavior of others. The self does not remain unchanged after this kind of experience. The married woman is in a different status than the single woman. Her role is different, and in some ways she will be a different person.

Occupational roles also produce personality changes, so that there are "reciprocal effects of man on job and job on man" [Kohn and Schooler, 1973]. In a famous role-taking experiment, Zimbardo [1973] set up a mock prison complete with a simulated cell block, uniformed guards, and the usual prison routines. Student volunteers were randomly divided into "prisoners" and "guards," while the "guards" were instructed to invent their own means of control. The "prisoners" quickly become rebellious and sullen while the "guards" became brutal and abusive to a degree which surprised and alarmed those supervising the experiment. The experiment was suspended because the "prisoners" suffered uncontrollable rages, crying fits, and other symptoms resembling those of schizophrenia, and the supervisors feared some might suffer serious mental or physical injury. [Craig Haney et al., 1973]

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Most sex-linked tasks can be performed well by either sex. (*Carl Frank/Photo Researchers, Inc.*)

Indians are recognized gender statuses which differ from both male and female sex statuses [Hill, 1935; Lurie, 1953; Voorhies, 1973; Forgey, 1975]. But in most societies no comfortable status is open to those whose sex-role behavior falls outside those societies' approved alternatives. Homosexuality (discussed in Chapter 6) is a status and role which is fiercely debated in our society.

Many considerations which presumably underlie our ascribed sex roles are themselves changing today. The assumption of vast innate sex differences in intellect and aptitude has been discredited. Greater dependability and availability of contraception and abortion has weakened the rationale for a double standard of sexual behavior. Declining family size means that women spend less time in childbearing and child care. The shift from human to machine power means that greater masculine physical strength becomes less important. The growing concern for equal rights in recent years has led many women to become aware of the vast inequalities they have endured. For all these reasons many women today are in full revolt against sex-role ascription.

ASCRIPTION BY AGE. In no society are children, adults, and the aged treated alike. Age

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

race [Katz, 1971, Greer, 1972, Collins, 1975, pp. 449–450; Bowles and Gintis, 1976].

Extended discussion of these charges is found in Chapter 16, "Social Mobility." The degree to which these charges are correct is a matter of debate. To whatever extent statuses are equally open to achievement, task assignment through achieved statuses makes the maximum provision for attainment of roles on the basis of individual ability. It provides a high degree of choice and flexibility at the cost of psychic insecurity for the individual who cannot compete successfully. In essence the achieved status probably represents both the most efficient use of the human potential and the greatest threat to the individual's peace of mind

Status Inconsistency

Each person holds several different statuses at the same time, and these statuses may not carry the same rank. The deposed prince who runs a restaurant, the new college graduate who works as a waitress, and the world-famous statesman's son who is successful at nothing are examples. The term *status inconsistency* is used when *one of a person's statuses is incompatible with his or her other statuses* (the terms *status discrepancy* and *status incongruity* are also sometimes used). Status inconsistency means that one's several statuses do not go together in the expected manner

Age, sex, and class are three kinds of statuses which may be inconsistently combined. The young soldier may be old enough to drive a tank but not old enough to buy a beer. Old men who pursue young women are disapproved, old women who seek young lovers are ridiculed, old men who announce the birth of a child are met with a ribald cynicism.

Status inconsistency is also present when one is not generally recognized to hold a status which one feels to be deserved, such as the new-rich who are scorned by the blue bloods, or the immigrant physician who must work as a hospital orderly until gaining certification

Status inconsistency

Status inconsistency produces confusion. Should one talk baseball or baby-sitting with the liberated male who keeps house while his wife runs a bulldozer? When a woman executive's male secretary answers the phone, callers may assume they have the wrong number

Persons suffering status inconsistency may respond by identifying with the higher-ranked status and by seeking to avoid or deny the lower-ranked status, as with the new-rich who cultivate upper-class manners or immigrants who "Americanize" their names. Or they may identify with the lower of their statuses, as in the case of the successful and prosperous black who, instead of seeking acceptance among rich whites, becomes a militant leader of poor black people Awareness of status inconsistency generally produces a behavior response of some kind [Lenski, 1954, Mitchell, 1964, Treiman, 1966; Broom and Jones, 1970; House and Harkins, 1975; Hornung, 1977; Wilson and Cooper, 1979]

Role Personality and True Personality

If role preparation were entirely adequate, each person would develop a personality

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

A preference for intimate sexual response from one of the same sex. (*Cary Wolinsky/Stock, Boston*)

ior [Mitchell, 1981, p. 47]. Animals of many species will occasionally attempt to mount another member of the same sex. Such mountings rarely include penetration or orgasm, although some sexual arousal of the partner is not uncommon. Such animal homosexuality is often (but not always) associated with immaturity, absence of a heterosexual partner, overcrowding, or some other unusual circumstance. Animal homosexuality is clearly "natural" in that it appears with some frequency among a number of species. Yet there is no animal species in which homosexuality is the predominant or customary form of adult sex behavior, and we have no reports of individual animals that are exclusively homosexual

Homosexuality appears, at least occasionally, in all or nearly all human societies. Homosexuality is either absent, rare, or secret in about one-third of the societies studied by Ford and Beach In about two-thirds, some form of homosexual behavior is considered acceptable and normal for at least some categories of people or stages of life. A number of societies include institutionalized homosexual roles, as among the Koniag, who socialize some male children from infancy to fill female roles. Among the Siwans of Africa, all men and boys are expected to engage in anal intercourse and are viewed as peculiar if they do not do so. Female homosexuality is either less common or less carefully noticed but is also known in many societies.

With homosexual as with heterosexual behavior, it is approximately correct that "everything is right somewhere and nothing is right everywhere." Unlike other animals, there are some humans who are exclusively or predominantly homosexual. Kinsey's studies [1948, 1953] have clearly established that for American males homosexuality-heterosexuality is a continuum, not a pair of distinct categories. In other words, while some are exclusively homosexual and some are exclusively heterosexual, many are some intermixture of homosexual and heterosexual feelings and behavior. One may be 10 percent homosexual and 90 percent heterosexual in inclination, another may be 50:50, another 60:40, and yet

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

In many countries, nearly all menial tasks are done by women. (*Luis Villota/Photo Researchers, Inc.*)

ness, dominance, compliance, and nurturant behavior.

For even the real differences shown above, we still have the question: Are they inherited or learned differences? No known society treats boys and girls alike. No known society offers identical male and female adult models for children to copy. If there is any chance that boys and girls could have learned certain different behaviors, we question whether they are biologically based. Furthermore, any behavior characteristic rooted in heredity will appear in *all* human societies. Most sex differences in behavior fail this test. From this we suspect that most sex differences in behavior are learned not inherited.

But how about those sex differences which might be biological? If males surpass females in mathematical and visual-spatial abilities, isn't it reasonable to favor men for engineers and airline pilots? First, we are not certain that these ability differences *are* biological. They may be, but this has not been proved. Second, all sex differences (except in reproductive apparatus) are *average* differences. Most of these average differences are not very great, with a great deal of overlapping. Thus, while boys' math scores average higher than girls' scores, *all* of the upper third of the girls score higher than *all* of the lower three-fifths of the boys. If math scores are to be used as admission tickets, should not the scores themselves be used rather than using gender, which is only slightly associated with math scores?

What does all this mean? Simply that (aside from physical strength and reproduction) most sex differences are social products, not biological building blocks. With few exceptions, sex roles can be whatever a society makes them. At present, it is unclear what our society wishes them to be. The traditional sex roles of American society are under fierce attack and are changing with a speed which is gratifying to some and upsetting to others.

CHANGING SEX ROLES

Women's roles have shown great change throughout history. If we define women's status as "high" when women have considerable independence, power, and choice, then women's status has varied greatly in time—fairly high in ancient Egypt, low in early Greece and in the early Roman republic, higher in the later Roman empire, and low again in the Christian era after the fall of

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Susan Rakstang, a 32-year-old mother of two and an architect, concedes that life would be more pleasant for her family if she didn't have a job.

"Who doesn't like to come home to a home-cooked dinner? We all do. But we all can't. So we all pitch in," she says. "I'm a healthy, strong human being. For me, not to work would be just as frustrating as for any man."

Charlene Sisco, a 36-year-old medical secretary, hates working outside her home. Struggling to balance her duties to her six-year-old son and her job, she hopes one day she can afford to quit. Women were better off when they stayed home "rather than competing with men," she says. Now, "my whole life is a time clock."

The women differ on many issues. Mrs. Rakstang, who works primarily because she likes to, supports feminist goals to the extent of contributing to some women's organizations. Mrs. Sisco, who works because she must, believes the feminist movement has done more harm than good, and she is pleased about the imminent demise of the Equal Rights Amendment for lack of ratification.

(Sue Shellenberger, *Wall Street Journal*, June 29, 1982, p. 1.)
Reprinted by permission of *The Wall Street Journal*, © Dow Jones & Company, Inc., 1982. All rights reserved.

With which of these women do you most closely identify?

the nineteenth century eventually gained voting rights but not much else. The "new" feminism is an expression of the general spirit of protest which developed in the 1960s. The leaders of the New Left (the radical student movement of the 1960s) were overwhelmingly sexist, despite their radicalism on other issues. They treated "women's issues" as trivial details which would be cleared up by socialist revolution. Meanwhile they treated women as sex objects and servants who did the grubby work while the men planned strategy and pondered great ideas [Gottlieb, 1971; Deckard, 1979, pp. 349–352]. But the students who shared in activist protest movements nearly always held equalitarian sex-role attitudes [Orcutt, 1975]. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was formed in 1966 with Betty Friedan, author of the influential book, *The Feminine Mystique* [1963], as its first president. It called for "a sex-role revolution for men and women which will restructure all our institutions: child rearing, education, marriage, the family, medicine, work, politics, the economy, religion, psychological theories, human sexuality, morality, and the very evolution of the race." [Friedan, 1973]. A few more radical splinter groups, such as SCUM (Society for Cutting Up Men) and WITCH (Women's International Conspiracy from Hell) [Morgan, 1970, pp. 514–519, 538–553], attracted a flurry of headline interest, but their main contribution may have been to establish the radical boundaries of the movement and make other feminist organizations look more conservative.

There have been very few membership studies of feminist organizations, and these report activist members to be largely young, white, educated, middle or upper class, and tending to be atheistic or agnostic in religion and liberal to radical in politics and sex mores [Carden, 1974; Dempewolff, 1974]. While this description may fit activist members of the feminist movement, it probably does not fit many of the millions of less radical women who lend some degree of support to the movement. As with all social movements, the feminist movement embraces a variety of personalities and viewpoints.

The new feminism has pursued three principal strategies: (1) a legal attack on all forms

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

duces these sex stereotypes [Sprung, 1976] They object to anything which reflects and perpetuates sex-role stereotypes—giving toy trucks and tools only to boys and dolls and tea sets only to girls, TV shows which cast men in dominant roles and women in supporting, domestic, or comic roles, and magazine ads depicting the sexes in only traditional work roles. Feminists launched a spirited attack on "sexist" textbooks, in which little girls cower and whimper while little boys are heroically protective, and where men and boys appear in adventurous work roles and women only in housewife roles or "feminine" occupations. They object to sexist vocabulary and the use of the terms "man," "mankind," "he," "him," and "his" to refer to human beings in general [Nilson et al., 1977]. Feminists ask that these generic masculine terms be replaced by neuter or evenly balanced terms, and that sex-role stereotypes be deleted. In this effort feminists were quickly and easily successful. Textbook publishers soon sent detailed instruction manuals to their authors, while editors thoughtfully edited out sexist usages authors overlooked

Changing sex-role stereotypes is not easy In one school experiment, a six-week crash program attempted to show children how both sexes could profit from nonstereotyped roles. The program used all the "right" teaching aids and materials. At the end, the girls showed the desired attitude changes but the boys had become more rigid in their acceptance of stereotyped roles [Guttentag and Bray, 1976]. Yet there is evidence of substantial shifts toward more equalitarian attitudes in children [Duncan and Duncan, 1978; Duncan, 1980]. A number of guidebooks on nonsexist socialization have appeared [Sprung, 1976; Pogrebin, 1980]. When today's children become adults, they will probably show more flexible gender roles than their parents.

The Attack on Sexist Institutional Practices

Two recently published books illustrate two different approaches to the question, "Why do so few women become corporate executives?" One, Henning and Jardim's *The Managerial Woman* [1977], written in a pop psychology style, assumes that executive promotion is now equally open to women and concludes that women's own behavior is responsible for their lack of success. While this may be true in some cases, this superficial treatment overlooks the many traditional and structural barriers to women's executive career. Although condemned by serious scholars as misleading and pernicious [Patterson and Loseke, 1978; Rubin, 1978], this book sold very well, as is often true of books which tell people what they like to hear in a way which sounds authoritative. Rosabeth Moss Kanter's *Men and Women of the Corporation* [1977], which gives a balanced analysis of the processes of female executive mobility, reveals the many subtle ways in which the traditional structure and operation of the corporation has discouraged female executive promotion. Although highly praised by reviewers as a major contribution to our knowledge of sex mobility [Patterson and Loseke, 1978; Rubin, 1978], it sold poorly in the mass market

Our institutions are saturated with sexism,

> Both men and women admit that there is still a network of social contacts that only grudgingly admits women. "I was not invited to a dinner party which included all the men working on a matter in which I was involved," says a woman partner in a Washington firm who asked that her name not be used. "I was told afterward that it was because my husband would be uncomfortable being relegated to a place with the wives while we talked business."
>
> [*The New York Times Magazine*, November 22, 1981, p. 98]
>
> Should we "save" people from possible embarrassment, or allow them to decide for themselves?

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

culine and feminine behaviors, with both sexes very much alike in personality and behavior. Aggressiveness, independence, self-reliance, and career ambitions would be equally shared by men and women, while such traditionally "feminine" traits as dependence upon others, sensitivity, gentleness, and submissiveness to others would also be equally shared by men and women. Is this a realistic hope?

It is debatable whether any human society has ever been androgynous, and many attempts to establish androgynous arrangements have failed. Some scholars believe that male dominance is rooted in hormone differences between the sexes and is therefore inevitable [Goldberg, 1973; Van den Berge, 1975]. Others claim that male dominance may be universal throughout human societies but is not inevitable [Walum, 1977, pp. 143–145] Still others question the universality of male dominance. They note that male dominance certainly is not found in many nonhuman species [Katchadourian, 1979, p. 70; George, 1979] In many human societies, men dominate some decisions and activities while women dominate others, while a few societies come very close to being unisex [Whyte, 1978; Sanday, 1981] The anthropologist Marvin Harris states, "Male supremacy is on the way out. It was just a phase in the evolution of culture." [Harris, 1975]. One scholar argues that the human male's natural inclinations are androgynous and that "masculinity" is a grotesque distortion of man's true nature, but he presents no substantial evidence to support this claim [Fleck, 1981]. It is clear that no final answer can be given unless some society succeeds in achieving androgynous sex roles and maintaining them over a number of generations.

IS ANDROGYNY DESIRABLE? A number of research studies conclude that androgynous persons are more competent, flexible, and adaptable, have higher self-esteem, and are generally happier and better adjusted then men who are "masculine" or women who are "feminine" in personality [Bem, 1975a, 1975b, 1976; Spence and Helmreich, 1978; Orlofsky and Windle, 1978, Heilbrun, 1981, p. 89]. Yet these studies are not very consistent with one another [Lips, 1978, pp. 138–143], and some studies contest the conclusion that androgynous persons are superior [Burger and Jacobson, 1979]. Crosby and Nyquist [1980] note that four different scales are in use to measure androgyny and report that several studies show that over one-third of those classed as androgynous on one scale would not be androgynous as measured by another. We might conclude that the available research clearly shows that the traditional "masculine" and "feminine" personalities are not linked to mental health, effective functioning, or personal happiness, but the su-

A NOTE OF DISSENT . . .

The prevailing orthodoxy runs along these lines: that sex differences are trivial or superficial, in both degree and effect; that they exist only because of social conditioning; that this conditioning is designed to insure male hegemony; and that the ideal personality is androgynous. Because there is very little evidence to support any of these beliefs, the case is often made not by argument but by intimidation. To question these ideas is to risk jeers and hissing when the issues are discussed in public and a torrent of abusive letters when they are debated in print.

(Joseph Adelson, summarizing Robert May *Sex and Fantasy: Patterns of Male and Female Development*, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1980, in *The New York Times Book Review*, March 9, 1980, p. 3. Reproduced by permission of the New York Times Company.)

Do you think this is an accurate statement?

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

to "conform to the nuclear monogamous family pattern," yet such conformity is the result.

Through socialization, one internalizes the norms, values, and taboos of one's society. We repeat that to internalize them means to make them part of one's automatic, unthinking responses. People who fully internalize the mores will obey them even when nobody is looking, because the idea of violating them is unlikely to occur to people who have fully internalized them. If seriously tempted, conscience may arise to prevent a violation. This is what happens, most of the time, in a society with a stable, integrated culture and a consensus upon values. As we shall see, few if any modern societies fit this model at all perfectly.

Social Control Through Social Pressure

In a novel by Sinclair Lewis, George F. Babbitt, a small-town realtor, somehow strays into "radical" notions about government and politics. Soon his business declines, his friends begin to avoid him, and he grows uncomfortably aware that he is becoming an outsider. Lewis describes how Babbitt's associates apply these subtle pressures until, with a sigh of relief, Babbitt scurries back into a comfortable conformity [Lewis, 1922, chaps. 32, 33]. In all human societies, and even in many nonhuman species, this tendency to conform to group pressure and example is evident. Nineteenth-century explorer David Thompson was impressed by the reckless, headlong flight of wild horses, and when his dull, placid packhorse escaped to join the wild horses, it amazed him to see how quickly it assumed their wild temperament, "with nostrils distended, mane flying, and tail straight out" [Ryden, 1971, p. 106].

Lapiere [1954] sees social control as primarily a process growing out of the individual's need for group acceptance. He claims that groups are most influential when they are small and intimate, when we expect to remain in the groups for a long time, and when we have frequent contacts with them. All authorities agree that our need for acceptance within intimate groups is a most powerful lever for the use of group pressure toward group norms.

One experiences this group pressure as a continuous and largely unconscious process. Its operation is illustrated by the life of one of the author's acquaintances. He spent most of his working life as a small farmer in central Michigan; like most of his neighbors, he thought conservatively, voted Republican, and scolded labor unions. During World War II he moved to Detroit and worked in a war plant, joined a union, became a union officer, and voted Democratic. After the war, he retired to a small central Michigan village where he again thought conservatively, voted Republican, and scolded labor unions. He explained these about-faces by claiming that the parties and the unions had changed. He did not realize that it was *he* who had changed. Like most of us, he soon came to share the views of his group associates. This tendency to conform to group attitudes is so compelling that the Catholic church in France found it necessary to abandon its worker-priest program. This was an effort to stem the drift of French workers toward communism by sending out priests who would take ordinary jobs and work beside the workers, meanwhile leading them back to the church. After a ten-year trial, when it became evident that the workers were converting the priests to the Marxian view of the class struggle, the program was curtailed [Brady, 1954].

Social psychologists [Sherif, 1935; Bovard, 1951] have made a number of classic experiments which show how a person tends to bring personal expressions in line with those of the group. The method in such experiments usually consists of asking the members for individual estimates, attitudes, or observations on a topic, then informing them of the group norm, and finally asking for a new expression from each member. Many of the informants modify their second expression in

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

settings, but generally with a reduced impact. Meanwhile, other more formal controls are characteristic of secondary groups—parliamentary rules of order, official regulations and standardized procedures, propaganda, public relations and "human engineering," promotions and titles, rewards and prizes, formal penalties and punishments, and still others.

These formal controls of the secondary group are most effective when reinforced by a primary group. A prize or decoration is more sweet when an admiring family and an applauding clique of close friends can watch the presentation ceremony. Within the large, impersonal secondary group may be many very closely integrated primary groups, such as squads within an army or work crews within a corporation. These primary groups can either reinforce or undermine the formal secondary-group controls and greatly affect the performance of the secondary group. Much of the human engineering approach in industry is an effort to use these primary groups to reinforce the controls and the objectives of the corporation.

LANGUAGE AS A CONTROL. Language is a way of describing reality, and changes in language may change the way people see reality. This is what symbolic interactionists mean by "the social construction of reality." A redefinition which ascribes new meanings to familiar words may promote a redefinition of attitudes and relationships. For example, recent use of the term, "welfare rights" has had some success in changing the image of "welfare" from a charity (which the poor gratefully accept in whatever amount offered) to a "right" (for which recipients may legitimately negotiate, bargain, and battle). After all, a "right" is simply a claim which other people will recognize and grant. Revolutionary and terrorist groups may call themselves an "army" and assume military titles ("field marshal," "chief of staff"). A field marshal over a ten-person "army" may be absurd, but if the media can be persuaded to use these terms, it lends an air of legitimacy to the group, making it more acceptable to the society at large. Sometimes groups use language for the opposite effect. An *argot* is a *special language of a subculture*. It includes

A SAMPLE OF SKID ROW ARGOT

bull a police officer or railroad detective

carrying the banner walking all night for lack of a place to stay

earbeating the long sermon at a mission service

flop a men's cubicle hotel or a room in a flophouse

meat truck picks up the bodies of skid row men who die

mission stiff one who gets food, lodging, and clothes from missions

nosedive coming forward to accept Christ in a mission service

pink lady drink made from alcohol obtained by squeezing Sterno through a handkerchief

snipe a used cigarette butt

spider the last alcohol in a bottle

starter the first coin one gets toward enough for a bottle

tank jail

went south going to buy a bottle for someone else and disappearing with the money

Source: Adapted from William McSheehy, *Skid Row*, Schenkman Publishing Company, Cambridge, Mass., 1979, pp. 95–99.

Are you familiar with any subculture for which you could prepare a sample of argot?

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

People tend to obey an authority figure; therefore, guards are dressed in impressive uniforms [Beckman, 1974]. In a widely criticized experiment, Milgram [1974] found that in a university laboratory setting, volunteer research subjects would obey a scientist's orders, even when they believed that their obedience was inflicting excruciating pain upon other subjects involved in the experiment. The atrocities of warfare, often in obedience to orders, become understandable as we study the way the total behavior situation affects behavior

True, the internalized norms and other personality characteristics one brings to a situation are a factor in one's behavior; sometimes they are the determining factor. A few people are honest in *all* situations; some husbands and wives will be faithful despite *any* temptation. But more often than our folklore admits, a situation promotes a characteristic kind of behavior among most of the participants. For example, county fairs are attended mainly by local people, often as family groups, in decently appointed and policed fairgrounds, with people divided into many small groups and crowds. Behavior in this situation is generally orderly. Rock music festivals are attended mainly by young people with no local ties or family responsibilities, with ready drug availability, and a focal interest and a hypnotic beat to unify them into an active crowd Little wonder that rowdy behavior, petty vandalism, and angry confrontations with local residents often develop

Violence at sports events has become a growing problem, leading to actual cancellation of some sports events for fear of expected violence [Clary, 1977]. Yet this violence is not randomly distributed It is more likely at night games (after fans have had more time to booze it up) and is more likely after than before the game, leading one pair of sociologists to suggest that the time to play the *Star-Spangled Banner* is *after* the game [Bryan and Horton, 1978]

There are many other practical applications of this form of social control. For example, if we wish to discourage littering, sermons on littering are less effective than strategically placed litter barrels; but if these are allowed to overflow and are not emptied regularly, the control effect is destroyed [Finnie, 1974]. Many old-time slums, with their busy street life and their well-populated doorsteps, had less crime than the modern high-rise housing

Bridgestone gives its employees lifetime jobs as well as all the typical Japanese trimmings. Two-thirds of the 3,700 workers . . . live onsite in company apartments for which they pay about $30 a year The average wage is $12,545 a year

The company also provides tennis courts, baseball and soccer fields, a gymnasium, a kindergarten, a hospital and even a subsidized wedding ceremony-room—no small perquisite in Japan, where wedding prices can be exorbitant.

In return, the company gets employee loyalty, in ways little and big. The employee cafeteria works on the honor system. There isn't any cashier Employees simply throw what they owe in a box as they walk out the door, taking what change they're entitled to from the box. Bridgestone says the cafeteria has never been shorted.

The last strike at Bridgestone was in 1947 Employees eagerly participate in new ways to improve the quality of Bridgestone's products while cutting the cost and time needed to make them. "As long as we don't have layoffs, the union is active in helping us increase productivity," says Motozo Mazutani, a manager at the Kodira plant.

(Urban C. Lehner "Bridgestone Looks Abroad for Growth," *Wall Street Journal*, June 17 1981 p. 27) Reprinted by permission of *The Wall Street Journal*, © Dow Jones & Company, Inc., 1982 All rights reserved.

Would these management policies work in the United States? Can this employee behavior be explained in terms of group pressure? In terms of situational determinants of behavior?

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

sociologists follow Seeman's definition, which includes the components of *powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation,* and *self-estrangement* [Seeman, 1969; Johnson, 1973, p. 16; Geyer, 1980, pp. 16–29]. The alienated person not only has no fully internalized system of binding norms but also feels like a powerless, helpless victim of a heedlessly impersonal social system in which he or she has no real place. The alienated person has few group affiliations or institutional loyalties Alienation is therefore an almost total emotional separation from one's society.

Marxist scholars stress the concept of alienation, holding that capitalist society inevitably alienates its workers and even its intellectuals because of its isolation of workers from control over work policies, work conditions, or managerial decisions [Blauner, 1964; Kon, 1969; Anderson, 1974]. Such alienation weakens the binding power of traditional norms and controls, and thus encourages deviant behavior. Marxist analysts see increasing alienation as a symptom of the approaching end for capitalism. Whether alienation is actually increasing is difficult to know, for we have no clear historical baselines for comparison.

SOCIETAL REACTION THEORY This theory, also called *labeling theory,* begins with the fact that deviation is created by the *definition* of an act as deviant. We cannot have rule breakers without rule makers. Societal reaction theory stresses the manufacture of deviation through the *labeling process.* By labeling an act as deviant, we set in motion a chain of events which tend to push the person into greater deviation and, finally, into a deviant life organization. Thus the act of labeling begins a self-fulfilling prophesy

The concepts of primary and secondary deviation, proposed by Lemert [1951, pp. 75–76; 1967], help to show how people may become confirmed deviants. *Primary deviation* is the deviant behavior of one who is conformist in the rest of one's life organization. The deviant behavior is so trivial, or so generally tolerated, or so successfully concealed that one is not publicly identified as deviant, nor does one consider oneself a deviant but as a "decent person" who has a little secret or eccentricity. Lemert writes that "the deviations remain primary . . . as long as they are rationalized or otherwise dealt with as functions of a socially acceptable role" (1951, p. 75). *Secondary deviation* is that which follows one's public identification as a deviant. Sometimes the discovery of a single deviant act (of rape, incest, homosexuality, burglary, drug use), or even a false accusation, may be enough to label one as a deviant (rapist, dope fiend, etc.). This labeling process [Lemert, 1951, p. 77; Becker, 1963, chap. 1; Schur, 1971, Pfuhl, 1979, chap. 6] is highly important, for it may be the point of no return on the road to a deviant life organization. One engaging in primary deviation can still maintain a conventional set of roles and statuses and can still share the normal conformity-reinforcing group pressures and associations. But being labeled a "deviant" tends to isolate one from these conformity-reinforcing influences. Persons so labeled may be dismissed from their jobs or barred from their professions, ostracized by conventional people, and possibly imprisoned and forever branded as "criminal." They are almost forced into association with other deviants by their exclusion from conventional society. As one becomes dependent upon deviant associations and begins to use deviation as a defense against the conventional society which has branded one, the deviation becomes the central focus of one's life reorganization.

For a number of authors, this societal reaction theory describes how a deviant act often triggers a chain of events which deepen and confirm a pattern of deviation. Chambliss illustrates with the example of a small group of boys who, labeled as "bad boys," actually became the bad boys they were accused of being:

> The community responded to the Roughnecks as boys in trouble, and the boys agreed with that perception. Their pattern of deviancy was

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

drawn to these institutions because they are already conformists? We are not certain. Perhaps both are true

IMPORTANCE OF DEVIATION THEORY Our theories of deviation are not very satisfactory There are many theories, each quite plausible and each supported by a good deal of research evidence. But for every theory either the evidence is inconsistent and mixed, or it applies to only some kinds of deviation or to some sets of circumstances. Thus no theory offers a good explanation for deviation of all kinds. Such a theory may be impossible. In medicine, we have no single theory to explain "illness," for illness is of many kinds and has many causes. Deviation, too, is of many kinds and may have many causes.

A general theory of deviation may never be developed, but theory building is not just a parlor sport for scholars. Theory is important, for our social control efforts stem from our social control theory. If we accept biological theory, we look to genetics and medicine for answers; if we accept class conflict theory, we seek to reduce class inequality; if we accept deterrence theory, we increase our efforts to detect and punish deviants; if we accept control theory, we make efforts to bind people more tightly to the basic institutions of society. The search for valid theory is difficult and frustrating but most necessary.

FREEDOM AND ORDER

Defining certain acts as deviant is a way of reinforcing conventional norms. Nearly a century ago Durkheim [1893] stated that scandalous behavior unites the community in support of conventional norms. Erikson [1966] claims that deviance clarifies the norms, when certain acts are defined as deviant. this shows people "how far they can go." No known society has allowed complete freedom to "do your own thing." All communes which have

The punishment of deviants is very real in every society

attempted to grant such license have failed. The only enduring communes have operated under the rule of a charismatic leader or under a system of their own rules and procedures [Roberts, 1971, chap. 11]. All societies and all groups punish deviants with punishments ranging from nonacceptance and ridicule to every imaginable form of torture, mutilation, imprisonment, and death. Often the punishment has more the flavor of vindictive revenge than of intended control.

The deviants sometimes accept punishment with stoical calm, as did the early Christians, and sometimes they protest bitterly over their persecution and oppression, as did the hippies and radical leftists of the 1960s. The "persecution" theme is a useful promotional tactic which organizers have used for centuries. But although often exaggerated and sometimes provoked, persecution of deviants is very real in every society.

Can freedom and order be reconciled? Without social order, people can do nothing with reasonable assurance of safety and comfort. Yet the process of maintaining social order may destroy freedom. One can also have extended discussions on the meaning of freedom (*Whose* freedom to do *what*, for example)

We are caught in an inescapable dilemma. Complete freedom for all to do as they wish

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Social Organization

In William Golding's popular novel *Lord of the Flies*, a plane crash strands a number of boys on a remote, unpopulated island. Groups soon begin to form, leaders emerge, rules and procedures develop. They begin to form a society, although a brutal and terrifying one.

This is what is meant by *social organization*. A society is more than a number of people occupying a space, just as an automobile is more than a heap of auto parts. Used as a noun, social organization is the way the members of a society are divided into groups and the enduring arrangements they develop. Used as a verb, social organization is the *process* of forming groups and developing those enduring patterns of association and behavior which we call *social institutions*.

Chapter 8, "Groups and Associations," describes the kinds of groups people form and how these groups affect the behavior of their members. Chapter 9, "Social Institutions," tells how the more important norms of a culture and the important relationships of a society are organized in enduring working systems. Chapter 10, "The Family," examines what is often viewed as the most basic of all social institutions. Chapter 11, "Religious Institutions," studies humanity's efforts to come to terms with supernatural forces and ultimate values. Chapter 12, "Education, Science, and Technology," describes how knowledge is organized and transmitted, especially in modern societies. Chapter 13, "Political-Economic Institutions," studies how the production and distribution of goods and services is organized and controlled.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

> Take each of us alone, a man apart from the Cheyenne people who remember the same things and wish for the same things. Take each one of us that way, and you have nothing but a man who cannot respect himself because he is a failure in the white man's way. A man who does not respect himself cannot make a good future. There is no strength in his spirit. Now take all of us together as Cheyenne people. Then our names are not the names of failures. They are the names of great and generous hunters who fed the people, fighters who died for freedom just as white men's heroes died, holy men who filled us with the power of God. Take us together that way and there is a drink for every man in the cup of self-respect, and we will have the strength of spirit to decide what to do and to do it. We will do good things as a tribe that is growing and changing that we cannot do as individual men cut off from their forefathers. (From an introduction to a Northern Cheyenne land consolidation program, quoted in *Indian Affairs*, Newsletter of the Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., no. 37, New York, June, 1960.)

This statement shows how a person's feelings and behavior are affected by group membership. Whether one is a coward or a hero may be more greatly determined by group ties than by any individual characteristics, as is shown by sociological studies of military groups.

During the Korean war a few American soldiers who were prisoners of war agreed to cooperate with the enemy and propagandized against the American cause. Physical hardship, poor food, limited medical attention, and inadequate shelter played a part in weakening their resistance, but these conditions were not considered sufficiently severe to account for their behavior. There was some torture and often the threat of torture but this affected only a few of the prisoners. The Chinese used something more powerful than physical force—*the systematic attack upon group ties*, described by Biderman [1960] and Schein [1960]. Just as "dying is easy for anyone left alone in a concentration camp,"[1] death came easily to prisoners of war who were isolated from their fellows.

The Chinese used such techniques as solitary confinement, isolation of small groups of prisoners, and frequent shifting of personnel to hamper formation of cohesive groups. More important, they also sought to divide prisoners in their attitude to each other and to cut them off from any feeling of effective links with the homeland. Casual information gathered in interviews was used to convince prisoners that all the others were informers and that they might as well give in, too. If a prisoner resisted what he thought were improper demands from the Chinese, the whole unit was denied food or a chance to sleep until the objector had been forced to come round by his own buddies.

By contrast with the Korean war, the Vietnam war produced proportionately fewer examples of "incorrect" behavior among American POWs.

This change is usually attributed to a new system of training instituted after the Korean war which stressed that, above all else, a POW must keep in communication with other POWs and obey the senior American officer at all times. He was no longer a lonely and abandoned individual but part of a functioning group. It wasn't easy to do, since the North Vietnamese frequently moved prisoners, seldom kept them in large groups, and tried to restrict communication.

The role of communication and group ties in sustaining morale among American POWs is especially striking, since American public opinion was sharply divided about the war in Vietnam. The North Vietnamese constantly reminded the POWs of this antiwar feeling but apparently with little effect on POW attitude or behavior.

In this respect behavior of American POWs

[1] An anonymous concentration-camp survivor, quoted in *Life*, Aug. 18, 1958, p. 90.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

There are primary groups within secondary groups. (*Sybil Shelton/Monkmeyer*)

the character and training of the individuals who make up the labor force.

The fallacy of this approach is that it overlooks the extent to which every large organization is a network of small primary groups. A person is not simply a unit in an organization chart designed by top management, he or she is also a member of a smaller informal group with its own structure and its own system of statuses and roles which define the behavior of its members. In the factory the worker finds a place in a group of peers with its own leadership, from which the supervisor is usually excluded. The supervisor is part of "management" and therefore cannot be part of a worker in-group. Since workers need the approval and support of the clique more than the approval of their supervisors, they meet the demands of management only when these demands harmonize with their in-group needs and attitudes.

The influence of the primary group is one reason why incentive pay plans giving the worker a bonus for greater output have frequently been ineffective. The logic of such plans is that many workers will work harder if paid in proportion to the work they do. The major defect in such plans is that they would destroy the unity of primary groups. Rather than a number of equals cooperating together, the work gang would become a number of competing individuals each striving to outdo the others. Aside from the strain of continuous competition, this situation threatens the workers' social relationships. As a defense, factory cliques develop a norm

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

stereotype a group-shared image of another group or category of people

voluntary association formal organization directed toward some definite function which one enters voluntarily rather than by ascription

QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1 Why do sociologists have so many different definitions for the term *group*?

2 Comment on this statement. "A group is made up of individuals, and the characteristics of a group are the sum of the characteristics of its members."

3 Is courage an individual character trait or a response to group influences?

4 What differences are found in the in-group–out-group distinction in primitive and modern societies?

5 Why are primary and secondary groups important? In-groups and out-groups?

6 To what extent would you expect social distance to be related to geographic distance?

7 Why was the morale of most American POWs in Vietnam able to survive both the hardships of capture and propaganda stressing the divided nature of American public opinion about the conflict?

8 Is there a sociological explanation of how decent, clean-cut American young men could have been guilty of atrocities in Vietnam?

9 When one notices a person who does not fit the stereotype commonly applied to him or her, does this observation undermine or reinforce the stereotype? Why?

10 Since all groups are different, what is the point of intensive study of a small group?

11 Why is it that only small groups are efficient work units and that large work forces must be divided into small groups to be efficient?

12 What is meant by the statement, "This relationship between A and B may be either causative or selective"?

13 Can you think of any conflicts between groups who are roughly equal in wealth and power?

14 Suppose we wish to change the behavior of a group of people. Which is more likely to be successful: (1) work directly with individuals to change their behavior and thereby to change the group; (2) change the situation or operation of the group, on the assumption that this will affect the behavior of the individuals in the group

15 Do extracurricular activities on campus resemble voluntary associations in the larger community? Are they a valuable part of the school or simply a waste of time?

16 If you live outside a major city, there is probably a volunteer fire department in your vicinity. Visit the chief and find out what you can about the regular occupations of the volunteers. Do they represent the kind of community cross section described in the article by Jacobs?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Becker, Tamar: "Black Africans and Black Americans on an American Campus: The African View," *Sociology and Social Research*, 57:168–181, January 1973. A discussion of tension between two groups with a common physical appearance but different cultural backgrounds

Fisher, B. Aubrey: *Small Group Decision Making: Communication and the Group Process*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1980. A textbook in group communication and decision making.

Gibbard, Graham S., John J. Hartman, and Richard D. Mann (eds.): *Analysis of Groups*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1974. A series of articles on various aspects of the intensive group experience: T-groups, therapy groups, and encounter groups

*Gordon, Suzanne: *Loneliness in America*, Simon & Schuster, Inc., New York, 1976. A profile of loneliness from the misunderstood child to the solitary aged person; discusses attempts to combat loneliness, the Singles Business, the Encounter Business, and the Magic Business (EST).

Hunt, Chester L. and Luis La-

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

without a house, religion without a church edifice, education without a school building, or government without the presidential mansion or king's palace.

Codes of Behavior

The people involved in institutional behavior must be prepared to carry out their appropriate roles. These roles are often expressed in formal codes, such as the oath of allegiance to the country, the marriage vows, the medical profession's oath of Hippocrates, and the codes of ethics of several other groups.

A formal code of behavior, however impressive, is no guarantee of proper role performance. Husbands and wives may prove unfaithful to marital vows, citizens who fervently repeat the pledge of allegiance may evade their taxes, and church members who have sworn fidelity to their religious creed may lapse into indifference. If the behavior code is fully learned and often reinforced, it may be observed, if not, and if there are no swift and sure punishments for violation, the code may be quietly ignored.

A formal code is only a part of the total behavior that makes up an institutional role.

TABLE 9-1
A PARTIAL LIST OF THE TRAITS OF MAJOR AMERICAN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Family	Religion	Government	Business	Education
Attitudes and behavior patterns				
Affection	Reverence	Loyalty	Efficiency	Love of knowledge
Loyalty	Loyalty	Obedience	Thrift	Class attendance
Responsibility	Worship	Subordination	Shrewdness	Studying
Respect	Generosity	Cooperation	Profit making	"Cramming"
Symbolic culture traits				
Marriage ring	Cross	Flag	Trademark	School colors
Wedding veil	Ikon	Seal	Patent sign	Mascot
Coat of arms	Shrine	Mascot	Slogan	School song
"Our song"	Hymn	Anthem	Singing commercial	Seal
Utilitarian culture traits				
House	Church building	Public buildings	Shop, factory	Classrooms
Apartment	Church equipment	Public works	Store, office	Library
Furnishings	Literature	Armament	Office equipment	Stadium
Car	Liturgical supplies	Blanks and forms	Blanks and forms	Books
Code of oral or written specifications				
Marriage license	Creed	Charter	Contracts	Accreditation
Will	Church law	Constitution	Licenses	Rules
Genealogy	Sacred books	Treaties	Franchises	Curricula
Marriage law	Taboos	Laws	Articles of incorporation	Grades
Ideologies				
Romantic love	Thomism	Nationalism	Laissez faire	Academic freedom
Open family	Liberalism	States' rights	Managerial responsibility	Progressive education
Familism	Fundamentalism	Democracy	Free enterprise	Three "r's"
Individualism	Moral majority	Republicanism	Rights of labor	Classicism

Note: This outline, almost a half century old, is reproduced with very little change. Does this suggest anything about social institutions?
Source: Adapted from table "Nucleated Social Institutions" in F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions*, Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1935, p. 16.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

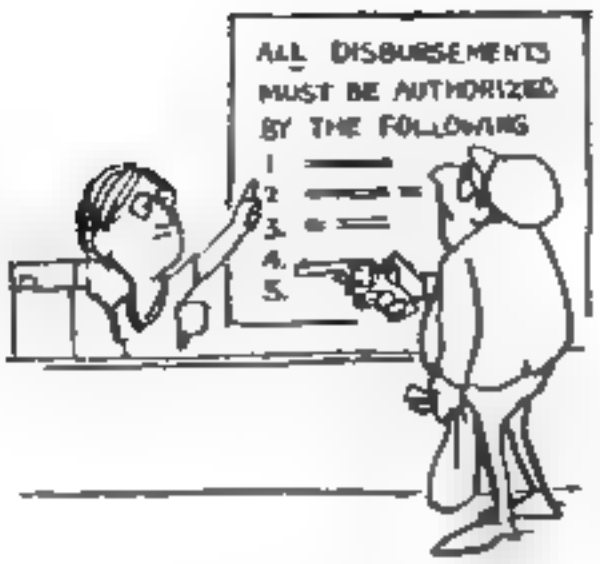
You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Total institutions separate one from the rest of society. Both Buddhist monks and military recruits have their heads shaved as part of the initiation ritual. (*Horace Bristol/Photo Researchers, Inc.; Hiroji Kubota/Magnum Photos.*)

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book



Bureaucracies tend to accumulate rules and procedures.

distasteful news to the citizen who is nominally the bureaucrat's employer. For example, when the tax assessor says taxes must be raised or when the claims officer denies an application for unemployment compensation, citizens are annoyed. Negative decisions are difficult to accept under any circumstances and are much more distasteful when given by one who appears pompous and self-righteous

"Grade creep" does not refer to academic marks (although it might also apply!) but to the classification of jobs and pay in which grade one is low-paid, grade two, a little higher, and so on. Samuelson [1976] points out that there is constant pressure to shift jobs to higher and higher classifications. Thus the typist becomes a stenographer; the stenographer, a private secretary, the secretary, an administrative assistant; and the administrative assistant, a bureau chief. Since the pressure of employees for a higher classification is constant and the governmental or corporate personnel office exerts little pressure for economy, this upward pressure is hard to resist

Finally, it is charged that governmental bureaucracies do not restrict themselves to administration but become involved in policy making which should be done by the legislature or the executive. The charge is that bureaucratic officials either distort the acts of the legislature or make rules which exceed legislative authorizations. Such charges formed a major part of Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign in 1980. His efforts to cut back on bureaucratic authority apparently had some success, since the new regulations in 1981 were 25 percent fewer than in the previous year [Pauly, et al , 1982]. However, the legislature cannot spell out the rules to be applied in each of thousands of different situations. This is done by the bureaucracy. This creates endless argument over whether a particular bureaucratic decision is undermining, fulfilling, or exceeding a legislative policy. A new administration may use bureaucratic rulings to overturn the policies and nullify the legislation of an earlier administration. An extreme example is the effort of Secretary of the Interior James Watt to change conservation policies to permit oil drilling on federal wilderness areas. This so incensed the Congress that it passed a resolution against Watt's ruling [*Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, August 14, 1982.]

ADJUSTING TO BUREAUCRACY Bureaucracies tend to accumulate rules and procedures. Many bureaucracies become so entangled in red tape that their daily work can be accomplished only by violating or evading some of the rules. Employees can stage a limited form of strike—a "work slowdown"—by simply abandoning their shortcuts and following the rule book

The difficulties of bureaucratic organization lead to attempts both to improve it and to revolt against it. The formal study of administration is an attempt to make bureaucracy an efficient instrument for meeting organizational needs. Training programs for business persons, educators, public officials, and the clergy all stress courses in "administration" (a more popular term for bureaucratic procedures). Since bureaucracy is both a necessity and an annoyance, efforts to improve bureaucracy are as continuous, and perhaps as effective, as crusades against sin.

Discontent with bureaucratic rule appears

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

mand. While much criticized and ridiculed, bureaucracy is necessary and inevitable in all large organizations. It arises from the needs for efficiency, uniformity, and prevention of corruption

Reactions to bureaucracy include efforts to improve it through analysis and training and to restrict bureaucratic authority. Some organizations have used ombudsmen to provide their members with relief from discriminatory treatment by officials. Alternatives to bureaucracy rely on giving rewards for reaching goals without requiring the following of detailed regulations.

Confidence in American institutions fluctuates, and a low level of public confidence may bring institutional change

GLOSSARY

autonomy self-government, freedom from outside direction.
association organized group of people pursuing some common interest.
bureaucracy a pyramid of officials who conduct rationally the work of a large organization.
ideology system of ideas which sanction a set of norms.
institution an organized cluster of folkways and mores centered around a major human activity; an organized system of social relationships which embodies certain common values and procedures and meets certain basic needs of society
intellectual one whose work is dealing mainly with ideas.
latent functions unintended effects of a policy, program, institution, or association
manifest functions intended purposes of a policy, program, institution, or association.
ombudsman (ombudsperson) an official empowered to investigate and sometimes adjust complaints against officials.

QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1 What are five basic social institutions found in all complex societies? How does an institution differ from an association?
2 What is meant by the process of institutionalization? Is art an institution? Recreation? The United Nations? Marriage? Football? The Roman Catholic Church?
3 Emerson made the statement, "An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man." As the terms are defined in this book, was he talking about institutions or associations?
4 Does your school have an ombudsman? Ask to see the annual report of that office. If this is not available, ask permission to look over some of the cases handled. Decide what principles were used in handling cases. What is the effect of this process on faculty and student morale? On academic standards?
5 Why does dissatisfaction with bureaucracy arise? What is the major obstacle in eliminating bureaucratic features which cause resentment?
6 Do you feel that premarital sexual relationships have been institutionalized on your campus? Why or why not?
7 Should students marry while in college? Should women members of the armed forces be discharged if they are pregnant? Justify your answer in each case
8 Woody Hayes, popular and highly successful football coach of Ohio State University, was fired after losing his temper and attacking a member of an opposing team. What does this incident illustrate about the nature of institutionalized roles?
9 Read "Blacks vs. The White House" in *Newsweek*, 99:24–25, Jan. 25, 1982. Write a report explaining both the rationale for the withdrawal of regulation by the Internal Revenue Service and the reason why people active in civil rights organizations objected. What does this article indicate about the problems involved in the use of bureaucratic power?
10 Read "The Functions of Sacerdotal Celibacy," pp. 150–162, in *Greedy Institutions*, by Coser (listed in Suggested Readings). Do you think abolition of the requirement of priestly celibacy would strengthen or weaken the Roman Catho-

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

tive societies institutionalized some things that we would not consider a part of family life. For example, some primitives developed an institutionalized pattern of trading with neighboring peoples with whom they were not at all friendly. One people would leave some trade goods at a certain spot where they would soon be picked up by the other people, who would leave their trade goods in exchange. But this required no special functionaries or officials, no special institutional structure. Thus the most primitive societies had no physical or social needs which called for any institutional structure beyond the family.

As a culture grows more complex, its institutional structures become more elaborate. The family is an adequate structure for handling the economic production and consumption of primitive hunters and farmers. But what happens when they develop extensive trade with neighboring or distant tribes? Before long the group includes traders, shippers, and other specialists whose work is no longer a part of the family life of the society. Later, specialized artisans begin to produce trade goods, giving rise to further occupational differentiation. Economic institutions exist whenever economic functions are performed in routine ways by specialists, operating outside their family roles and functions.

In the most primitive societies, order is maintained with no formal laws, police, or courts. The only authority known in many simple societies is family authority, that is, certain family members have certain authority over others. With increasing tribal size and growing cultural complexity, more formal political organization is needed. Family heads are joined into tribal councils, tribes combine into confederations, and bureaucracies begin to develop. Warfare, in both primitive and modern societies, is a powerful stimulus to political organization, for only through political organization can an aroused rabble become an effective army. In like manner, religious and educational institutions develop as professional functionaries, following standardized procedures, withdraw from the family certain activities which are too complicated for the family to handle well.

The family, then, is the basic social institution from which other institutions have grown as increasing cultural complexity made them necessary. A study of the family will tell us something about it and about institutions in general.

STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY

Like all institutions, the family is a system of accepted norms and procedures for getting some important jobs done. Defining the family is not easy, as the term is used in so many ways. A family may be: (1) a group with common ancestors; (2) a kinship group united by blood or marriage; (3) a married couple with or without children; (4) an unmarried couple with children; (5) one person with children. Members of a commune may call themselves a family but are generally unable to occupy a house in an area zoned for "single-family residence." If several students seek to rent and share a house in such an area, they discover that the legal definition of a family is important.

The childless unmarried couple living in "nonmarital cohabitation" is not recognized as a family by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, but it recently set up a new category for "persons of opposite sex sharing living quarters," abbreviated to *posselq* (rhymes with "jostle you").

> "If you like me and I like you,
> Come and be my posselq."

The U.S. Bureau of the Census defines a family as "two or more persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption and residing together in a household." Common practice, however, is to include as a family any of the five categories listed above. Sociologists find

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

A majority of the world's societies allow polygamy. (© *Tony Howarth/Daily Telegraph Magazine, 1980; Woodfin Camp & Assoc.*)

bilities. As shown above, some societies follow a formula whereby the children of certain socially designated kinsfolk marry each other, so that the individual choices may be unnecessary. Where actual choices are necessary, they may be made in many ways. The couples can do their own choosing, sometimes with parental guidance or parental veto. The parents can arrange the marriage, with or without considering the couple's wishes. A wife may be purchased, or perhaps a complicated series of gifts are exchanged between families. Wife capture is not unknown. Each of these patterns is the standard way of arranging marriages in some of the world's societies. All of them work—within the society in which they exist—and are supported by the surrounding values and practices of the culture. Wife capture worked very well for the Tasmanians, who practiced village exogamy and were not greatly concerned over the differences between one woman and all the others. For our society, it would be less practical. This illustrates the concept of cultural relativism—a pattern which works well in one cultural setting might work badly in another. As Peters shows [1971], parental engagement of 3-year-old girls to teenaged boys works out very well for the Shirishana of Brazil, while any attempt to impose the Western concepts of marriage would undermine Shirishana stability and invite chaos.

MONOGAMY AND POLYGAMY. To all properly ethnocentric Americans, there is only one decent and civilized form of marriage—*monogamy*—one man to one woman (at a time). Yet a majority of the world's societies have

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

war, noted for its ruthlessness) with a matched sample of war resisters, finding many significant differences. The Green Berets came from parents who were typically authoritarian, conventionally religious, insensitive, not affectionately demonstrative, supervisory rather than companionable with children, and demanding of unquestioning obedience; resisters' parents were the opposite in nearly every characteristic

One of the many ways in which the family socializes the child is through providing models for the child to copy. The boy learns to be a man, a husband, and a father mainly through having lived in a family headed by a man, a husband, and a father. Some socialization difficulties are encountered where such a model is missing and the boy must rely upon the secondhand models he sees in other families or among other relatives. There is no fully satisfactory substitute for a mother and a father, although they need not be the biological parents.

The importance of the family in the socialization process becomes clear when its impact is compared with that of other influences For example, Maveske [1973] studied the roles of racial-ethnic group, social class, and quality of school attended as causes of different rates of learning in children. He found that none of these was nearly as important as the presence or absence of a family atmosphere which encouraged learning aspirations and study habits A recent study by Mercy and Steelman [1982] concludes that the main reason for social-class differences in children's intellectual attainments is the different family atmosphere at different social-class levels. Numerous such studies have established the family as the primary determinant of child socialization

SOCIALIZATION IN THE MULTIPROBLEM FAMILY

A "multiproblem family" is one with a depressing assortment of problems and inadequacies. It is usually poverty-stricken and conflict-ridden, is often fatherless, and is beset by other problems such as unemployment and irregular work habits, alcoholism, drug addiction, illegitimacy, dependency, delinquency, and physical and mental illness. Such families fail to fulfill any of the family functions adequately and thus socialize their children to continue the pattern of inadequacy and dependency Malnutrition permanently blights their physical and intellectual growth and contributes to their school failure [Birch and Gussow, 1970]. Every slum, rural or urban, white or black, throngs with the "drifters"—children of disorganized lower-class families—who are deprived of love and affection, alienated from society, purposeless, and hopeless

The Affectional Function

Whatever else people need, they need intimate human response. Psychiatric opinion holds that probably the greatest single cause of emotional difficulties, behavior problems, and even of physical illness, is *lack of love*, that is, lack of a warm, affectionate relationship with a small circle of intimate associates [Fromm, 1956, Schindler, 1954, chap. 10, Hayanagi, 1968]. A mountain of data shows that the serious delinquent is typically a child whom nobody cares very much about. Infants who receive good basic physical care but who are not cuddled, fondled, and loved are likely to develop a condition medically known as *marasmus* (from a Greek word meaning "wasting away"). They lose weight, fret and whimper listlessly, and sometimes die [Ribble, 1943, chap. 1; Evans, 1972, Mussen et al., 1974, pp. 216–223]. A classic study many years ago showed how children in the sterilized but impersonal atmosphere of hospitals or foundling homes will suffer in emotional development and often show startlingly high rates of illness and death [Spitz, 1945]. Lack of affection actually damages an infant's ability to survive

The evidence is overwhelming that our need for companionship and intimate, affectionate human response is vitally important to us. Indeed, this is probably our strongest

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

changing economics, and changing values are all involved in the change in family size

SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES HAVE INCREASED Throughout most of Western history, children remained in the custody of the father in those few families broken by separation rather than by death. Within the past century the idea that children of separated parents "belonged" with the mother gained an acceptance that was seldom questioned. Today this assumption is questioned by no fewer than 650,000 fathers who care for their children themselves (but still only 12 out of each 1,000 households). Several studies seem to show that fathers can successfully raise children by themselves, even though it presents some special problems [Orthner et al., 1976; Dresden, 1976; G. Collins, 1979]

While the proportion of all households composed of a married couple with children present fell by one-fourth between 1970 and 1981 (from 40.3 to 30.3 percent, see Table 10-1), those headed by females increased 65 percent, to one in nine families. Those families headed by a never-married female increased 356 percent between 1970 and 1981, to a total of over 1 million. Of all families *with children*, one-parent families increased from 11 percent in 1971 to 21 percent in 1981. At a given moment, 20 percent of today's children are living in a single-parent household, while today's child has a 50:50 chance of living in a single-parent household at sometime before the age of 18 [above figures from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982*a*]

TABLE 10-1
COMPOSITION OF U.S. HOUSEHOLDS, 1970 AND 1981

Type of household	1970	
Family households:		
Married couple, no children under 18	30.3%	29.6%
Married couple with children under 18	40.3	
One parent with children under 18	5.0	7.6
Other (e.g., extended)	5.6	5.7
Total	81.2	73.2
Nonfamily households*		
Persons living alone	17.1	
Other	1.7	3.8
Total	18.8	

*Maintained by a person or persons who do not share their quarters with any relatives

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Household and Family Characteristics*, March 1981, ser. P-20, no. 371, March 1982, p. 2.

In which of the above categories has the greatest *number* of people had a change of status? In which category has there been the greatest *proportionate* change?

Whether the single-parent family is necessarily damaging to children can be debated. Blechman [1982] observes that if socioeconomic status, education, and other variables are controlled so that number of parents is the only variable being measured, then few differences in child development can be shown. But is it realistic to isolate single parenthood from the circumstances which so often accompany it? Most single-parent families are poor, and three-fourths of them are on welfare [Segalman and Basu, 1977]. A major part of their low income and poor education is a *result* of their being single parents (or teenaged parents). A longitudinal study of women who divorced and did not remarry found that they suffered an average income decline of 50 percent [Duncan and Morgan, 1982]. Among householders under 25 years of age, the female-headed household averages only one-third of the income of the couple-household, and for householders 25 to 44 years of age, the female-headed household still has only 42 percent of the couple-household income [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980*a*]. If the same women were members of two-parent households, a great many of them would not be poor. But most of them *are* poor, and their stress levels are high. Single-parent mothers are the greatest consumers of mental-health services, while their children's rate of use of mental-health services is four times that of

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

was fairly common but viewed as deviant until about 1965, is reported as fully institutionalized by 1975 [Trost, 1979, p. 186]. A longitudinal study of 111 cohabiting Swedish couples found that after 3½ years, 22 were separated, 25 had married, and 51 were still cohabiting [Trost, 1979, p., 173]. Nonmarital cohabitation has become quite common in the United States, with varying degrees of acceptance by parents and others. Whether it will ever become institutionalized is an open question.

For most cohabiting couples, nonmarital cohabitation seems just another stage of the courtship process, without any firm commitment to marry [Macklin, 1978, p. 233]. Macklin estimated in 1976 that about one-fourth of all American college students had cohabited, another one-half would do so if an acceptable partner appeared, and one-fourth would not do so [Macklin, 1978, p. 213]. While most cohabiting couples have made no firm commitment to marry, most do marry or else they separate within a few years. Very few plan or will choose nonmarital cohabitation as a permanent life-style [Macklin, 1978, p. 234]. In a *Good Housekeeping* poll [March, 1978, p. 88] one-half the cohabiting informants had married their partner, and another one-fourth were still cohabiting. Thus, cohabitation has become a fairly common preliminary to marriage, a point easily confirmed by noting the addresses of marriage license applicants as printed in the newspaper.

One study of cohabiting persons' scores on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory found that cohabiting college students, as compared with other students, tended to be somewhat more irreligious, nonconformist, immature, impulsive, manipulative, selfish, outgoing, friendly, fun-loving, and creative [Catlin et al., 1976]. But the more common nonmarital cohabitation becomes, the more closely will such couples approach a representative cross section of their age group.

It has often been suggested that some form of "trial" marriage would prevent a lot of mismatches and unhappy marriages. There is no convincing evidence that nonmarital cohabitation does this. Research studies quite consistently show that nonmarital cohabitation is remarkably like conventional marriage in its problems and adjustments and that nonmarital cohabitation has scarcely any measurable effects upon the marriages of those who marry [Blaine, et al., 1975, Stafford, 1977; Macklin, 1978, pp. 215–228, Jacques and Chason, 1979; Risman and Hill, 1981]. We may conclude that nonmarital cohabitation has become a widely accepted preliminary to marriage but is having very little effect upon marriage and the family.

THE QUIET REVOLUTION IN WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT Perhaps the greatest change of all has been the increase in "working wives." Women workers today form over two-fifths of our labor force. About 61 percent of all married women (aged 20 to 45) living with their husbands are in the labor force, and over nine out of ten married women work for some part of their married lives. The labor force now includes 56 percent of all women with children under 6 years old, and 70 percent of all women with children between 6 and 18 years old. [*Statistical Abstract*, 1981, pp. 386, 388]. Married women with children are now more likely to be employed than married women without children (explained, perhaps, by the fact that many of the "married women without children" are of retirment age). From these data, the "normal" life pattern of the American woman emerges. Typically, she begins working before marriage, works until her children arrive, when she *may* take off a few years but, if so, returns before long. Obviously, it has become normal for the American wife to work for a major part of her lifetime.

Historically, a woman who worked was living evidence that she had no husband able and willing to support her. A survey of 140 married women workers in 1908 found that only 6 husbands held jobs above the grade

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

THE NEW EXTENDED FAMILY

In about one in five American families with two or more children living in the household, at least one of these children is from an earlier relationship. This new extended family is the confused tangle of relationships created by divorce and remarriage. Suppose Arthur and Adrienne get a divorce, with Arthur keeping their sons, Billy and Bobby, while Adrienne keeps Carole and Charlene. Arthur marries Darlene, who brings along her daughters, Eileen and Elizabeth, while her ex-husband Daniel, who has custody of their sons, Frank and Frederick, marries Gloria, who has custody of her two children, Harold and Howard. Adrienne marries Ivan, who kept his two sons, Joseph and Jacob, when he divorced Kathryn, who kept their daughters, Lenore and Louise. Thus Billy and Bobby live with their father and stepmother, along with Eileen and Elizabeth, and are periodically visited by Carole and Charlene and Frank and Frederick, while they periodically visit their mother and their sisters, Carole and Charlene, where they also see Ivan and his sons, Joseph and Jacob, and possibly his daughters, Lenore and Louise. If all family members are still living, each child now has eight grandparents, four parents, and eight brothers and sisters, plus any new half-brothers or -sisters who may arrive someday.

(Inspired by Michael Norman, "The New Extended Family," *The New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 23, 1980, pp. 26ff.)

An institutionalized role, such as father or grandparent, carries recognized guidelines for behavior. Explain the confusions in the new, extended family due to the absence of institutionalized roles.

may not have increased, but readiness to use divorce as an answer has multiplied enormously. The most recent projections are that about 38 percent of first marriages of women now aged 25 to 29 will end in divorce, that 75 percent of divorcees will remarry, and that 45 percent of the remarried will divorce again [Glick and Norton, 1979].

A society can get a very low divorce rate in at least five ways. First, it can deemphasize love. In many societies marriage is a working partnership but not a romantic adventure as well. If less is expected of marriage, more marriages will be "successful." Second, it can separate love from marriage. A number of societies have a series of men's clubs for companionship, and allow men wide freedom to prowl in search of sex adventure. Here again, less is demanded of the marriage. Third, the society can socialize its members to be so much alike in personality and expectation that practically all marriages will work out successfully. The stable, well-integrated society generally succeeds in accomplishing this leveling; our society does not. Fourth, familism may be so encompassing that divorce is intolerable. In other words, so many of one's necessities, privileges, and satisfactions may be connected to the marital and family ties that to sever the marital tie is to cancel nearly all the claims and privileges which make life tolerable. Thus was approximately true in early America, where divorce was legally simple but not very practical. Finally, divorce can be legally forbidden, or made so difficult that most unhappily married couples are unable or unwilling to seek di-

They differ more and more greatly in personality and expectation.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

In a research study of wives of recently retired husbands, most wives reported positive aspects arising from their spouses' retirement. Particularly mentioned were time available to do what one wants, increased companionship, flexibity of schedule, and husband doing more household chores. Most respondents also reported negative aspects to their husbands' retirement, including financial problems, not enough for husband to do, and too much togetherness. The wives suggested that husbands should keep busy and that wives should continue their preretirement activities. The most constant correlate of wives' satisfaction in the early years of retirement was the participation of husbands in household tasks.

Adapted from Elizabeth A. Hill and Lorraine T. Dorfman, "Reaction of Housewives to the Retirement of Their Husbands," *Family Relations*, 31:195–200, April 1982.

Do you suppose that husbands' household help is a causative or a selective factor in wives' greater satisfaction?

panionship functions are further magnified by the expansion of the *postparental period*. In earlier generations relatively few parents lived very long beyond the maturing of their children. In 1870, as shown in Table 10-3, fewer than half the American fathers and mothers were still living when their youngest child married. By 1960, this median length of the postparental period had grown from nothing at all to sixteen years for women and fourteen years for men, and was still lengthening. A fairly long postparental period, as a *normal* rather than an exceptional life stage, is a very recent development. The bucolic literature about loving grandparents and great-grandparents gives little hint of how rare they really were. The modern appearance of the postparental stage of the life cycle means that most couples now reach that point where there is no urgent necessity for them to remain together—unless shared affection and companionship make it seem worthwhile.

THE STATUS DEFINITION FUNCTION CONTINUES. Many families continue to prepare children to retain the class status of the family; others seek to prepare their children for social mobility. They do this mainly by trying to give children the kind of ambitions, attitudes, and habits which prompt them to struggle for a higher class status and to fill it successfully. This is called *anticipatory socialization*, for it is an effort to socialize children for a class status which it is hoped they will someday achieve. At best, this effort is only partly successful. The child may acquire the ambitions and work habits which prompt it to struggle successfully for upward mobility, but no family can fully succeed in socializing a child for a way of life not practiced by that family.

THE PROTECTIVE FUNCTIONS HAVE DECLINED. The traditional family in Western society performed most of the functions of organized social work today—nursed the sick, gave haven to the handicapped, and shelter to the aged. Today, we have a medical technology which only specialists and hospitals can handle. Today's urban household is an impractical place in which to care for some kinds of handicapped people. Family care of the aged was a practical arrangement when the aging couple stayed on the farm, joined by a married child and mate. The parents could retire gradually, shifting to less strenuous tasks but remaining useful and appreciated. This pattern is available today to only a tiny minority, and many elderly couples feel—and are—useless and unappreciated in the homes of their children. Our rapid rate of social change and social mobility also means that many tensions may develop when three generations live under one roof. So for a variety of reasons—most of which have nothing to do with selfishness or personal responsibility—many of the protective functions of the traditional family have been shifted to other institutions.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

TABLE 10-5
MARRIAGE—A TRAP OR A HAVEN? RESPONSES OF SAMPLE OF MARRIEDS

"Have you ever wished you had married someone else?"

	Yes, often, percent	Sometimes	Once in a while	Hardly ever	Never	Total, percent	N
Women	1	5	6	18	70	100	763
Men	*	4	7	18	72	100	684

"Has the thought of getting a divorce ever crossed your mind?"

Women	1	4	8	23	64	100	763
Men	1	3	5	20	71	100	685

"All things considered, how satisfied are you with your marriage? Which number comes closest to how satisfied or dissatisfied you feel?"

	Completely dissatisfied, percent						Completely satisfied, percent		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Women	1	1	3	9	8	23	56	100	763
Men	0	*	1	6	6	27	60	100	685

Source: Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, and Willard L. Rodgers, *The Quality of American Life: Perceptions, Evaluations, and Satisfactions*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1976, p. 324.
*Indicates less than 1 percent.

Although this table shows that most married people are pretty well satisfied, we know that more than one in three marriages ends in divorce. How can both figures be true?

will transform the family, with a greatly increased fraction of all work, shopping, play, and everything else going on at home before the computer terminal [Frederick, 1983, p. 21]. "Productivity climbs when computers allow employees to work at home," reports the *Wall Street Journal* (May 3, 1983, p. 1), but workers miss their primary group contacts with coworkers. It is too early to predict the effects of the computer revolution upon the home.

One family historian believes that the nuclear family is crumbling and will be replaced by the "free-floating" couple, less tied to children, close friends, or neighbors than in the past [Shorter, 1975, p. 280]. In contrast to this, two major family theorists have predicted that the next few decades may see a return to a more highly structured, traditional, and less permissive family than that of today [Vincent, 1972; Zimmerman, 1972]. In fact, a rapidly growing movement called Toughlove is encouraging parents to be firm and strict in enforcing rules within the family [Leo, 1981]. A prominent sociologist [Etzioni, 1982] claims that the nuclear family will survive because "no complex society has ever survived without a nuclear family." There is little doubt that the family will survive, but the directions of family change cannot confidently be predicted.

SUMMARY

The family is the basic social institution. It varies greatly in form. The Western family is

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

11 Religious Institutions

RELIGION AND SOCIETY
Religion as an Evolutionary Stage
Religion as the Unifying Force
Religion as the "Opiate of the People"
Religion as a Dynamic Force
STRUCTURES OF RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS
Ecclesia
Cult and Sect
Denomination
MANIFEST AND LATENT FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION
Manifest Functions
Latent Functions
INTERRELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS
Religion and the Family
Religion and the Economy
Religion and Government
Religion and Social Action
RELIGION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION
Ethnicity and Religious Stratification
Ethclass Status Changes
CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN RELIGION
Conflict and Ecumenicity
Persistence of Religious Institutions
SUMMARY
GLOSSARY
QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS
SUGGESTED READINGS

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

against the prevailing nuclear policy [Novak, 1982]. Regardless of the issues, some church people will follow a "social gospel" while others concentrate upon individual salvation.

While there are both radical and conservative clergy, there is frequently a divergence between religious leaders and lay members. The "social gospel" and radical social action usually get more support among the clergy than among the membership [Hadden, 1969, Hoge and Carroll, 1973, p. 181]. The clergy who proclaim that vital religious concerns are involved in social issues may be seen by the laity as simply "talking politics" and straying away from really "religious" topics.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Possibly churches are better attended in the United States than in Europe because religion in the United States is linked with a precarious ethnicity. European countries generally have only one or two churches, and these are supported by state funds. European churches are a part of the national life and tradition, but they are so much taken for granted that the individual feels little obligation to support them and is little concerned about the link between religion and the rest of life. In the United States there are many churches, each linked to a certain segment of society. Thus, one way people reaffirm their identity is by affiliation with a church composed primarily of "people like us." If the church perishes, an aspect of their identity has disappeared, and since there is no state support, the church will die unless it is supported by voluntary efforts of its members. Under these circumstances church nonsupport is often seen as being a traitor to one's group.

Who are the "people like us?" Usually, they are people who share a common group background and a common economic status. Gordon refers to this combination of traits as *ethclass* [1978, p. 134], meaning a *group identity based on both ethnicity and social class*.

Ethnicity and Religious Stratification

One way to look at the United States is to compare the Anglo-Saxon core group with all others. American culture has been based so much on the English model that usually members of this group think they have no distinct ethnic status but are merely "American." However, they are a distinct kind of ethnic American, and usually they are more likely to worship in churches with members from a background similar to theirs.

Those outside the Anglo-Saxon core group are aware of a distinct ethnic identity, and this is also expressed in their churches. Immigrants to America were told that religion was the one activity which could legitimately escape Americanization or Anglo conformity, as it was sometimes called [Cole and Cole, 1954, pp. 135–140]. Since there was no official American church, people could join the church of their choice, and if they wished to import a church from their ancestral home, this was entirely proper.

Thus, we not only have Lutherans, but Swedish Lutherans, Danish Lutherans, Norwegian Lutherans, among Catholics there are parishes known as Polish Catholic, Mexican Catholic, French Catholic, German Catholic, Italian Catholic, and Irish Catholic—to name only a few. Blacks found that the church was, for many years, the one institution they could control and call their own. Blacks were primarily Methodists and Baptists, but they worshipped in black denominations entirely separate from white churches. Judaism is a religion in which most worshippers are ethnically Jewish. Even though there are many nonreligious Jews, it is hard to think of the concept of Jewishness without also thinking of the Jewish religion. Similarly, there were not only Orthodox churches but Greek, Russian, and Serbian Orthodox churches. Buddhist temples serve as social and cultural centers for many Japanese-Americans, and the mosque keeps ancestral memories alive for Americans of Arab ancestry. This is only a partial list, for there are few, if any, Americans for whom

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

and pastors more alert and active, producing a net increase in total religious effort.

There are drawbacks to such religious rivalry. These drawbacks may be classed as both practical and ideological. On the practical side, such division means that religious influence is fragmented rather than unified. In a time when antireligious elements are vigorous in their criticism, the churches speak with so many voices that many cannot decide what is the religious viewpoint. There are also difficulties on an ideological basis. While each church has an ideology justifying its existence, all churches find it scandalous that so many different and competing voices should each proclaim that it has the true faith [Johnstone, 1975, p. 266]. Further, the passage of time has softened some of the views to the point where church members may neither know nor care about the points of difference. Finally, religious people seek reconciliation and understanding and are disturbed when religiously based conflict produces discord and prejudice.

THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT. One reaction to the problems of religious rivalry has been the development of an ecumenical movement. "Ecumenical" means universal, and this implies an emphasis on matters which unite rather than on those which divide. One form of ecumenicism is sharing divergent and common viewpoints in conferences which seek to enlarge mutual understanding. Another is in "comity" agreements indicating which denomination will establish a congregation in a particular place. There are also organizations cutting across denominational lines. In earlier years, these included Christian Endeavor (a youth group), the American Peace Society, the American Anti-Slavery Society, the American Sunday School Association, and many others. A number of interdenominational groups carry on social service activities in urban areas. Ecumenical concerns also led to the formation of councils of churches at the local, state, national, and world levels. The Conference on Church Union seeks to assist Protestant denominations to unite [Lyles, 1981]. In 1982 three Lutheran bodies agreed to unite [Mann, 1982], and in 1983 the two major Presbyterian churches (separated into northern and southern halves by the Civil War) agreed to reunite [*Newsweek*, 101-72, June 20, 1983].

Enthusiasm for ecumenicity has waxed and waned and run into some difficult problems. One of these is that although the ecumenical movement began in Europe and North America and has its main numerical and financial support there, the World Council of Churches is now dominated by churches based in the developing areas of Africa, South America, and Asia. These non-Western churches often support "liberation theology" of vigorous anti-Western nationalism [Herzog, 1981] which, to American or European churches, seems quite the opposite of a message of reconciliation. An ecumenical organization such as

SECULAR LOSSES

What is the least stable religious background in the United States? The secular home! Analysis of merged national samples from the annual General Social Surveys finds that of Americans who described the religions of their parents as "None," less than 40 percent remained without a religious affiliation. Thus while the many religious groups in the nation typically retain 70 percent or more of their born-members, the majority of those who are raised without religions convert . . . as witnessed by the national data, irreligiousness seems very hard to transmit from parent to child.

Rodney Stark, "Must All Religions Be Supernatural?" in Bryan Wilson (ed.), *The Social Impact of New Religious Movements*, The Rose of Sharon Press, Inc., New York, 1981, p. 166.

Why is it apparently easier for parents to transmit religion to their children than it is to transmit irreligion?

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

certainty, in an impersonal society, they provide companionship; in a materialistic world, they challenge people to deny concern for personal possessions.

Cults occasionally attempt to change social institutions, but more often they simply encourage people to withdraw from society Parents are often distressed when children apparently lose all ambition or family loyalty and follow some cultist leader. It seems like the ancient story of the Pied Piper of Hamlin, whose siren tunes lured the village children away from their homes. Parents have kidnapped teenagers to get them away from a cult so that a critical outsider can "deprogram" them and show them the error of cultish ways [Sage, 1976] Hard questions of civil liberty then arise [Robbins and Anthony, 1978]. Has the cult member been deprived of freedom when placed under strict communal regulations and "brainwashed" by a constant stream of one-sided propaganda? Or are young people deprived of their liberty when parents kidnap or trick them from the cult and force them to listen to criticism of their newfound way to salvation? Deprogramming success is often temporary [Shupe and Bromley, 1980, chap 6]. It may be compared with programs to "dry out" alcoholics or drug addicts. It may be possible to make a temporary "cure," but unless there is a major change in the way the person views his or her life situation, the habit is likely to reoccur Deprogramming is a form of high-pressure resocialization As pointed out earlier, resocialization is effective only when reinforced at frequent intervals. Unless the deprogramming of a cultist is reinforced by daily life experiences which he or she finds satisfying, a return to the cult is likely Similarly, it is possible to bring logical arguments against cultist beliefs, but they are likely to be retained in some form as long as they meet strong personality needs

Cults come and go, and their membership is hard to estimate, perhaps a million and a half in the United States. Usually the cultist experience is a transient one, as members linger a few months or years and then move on to different experiences. But the total activity and membership of cults seem to be increasing. As one authority says, "The cult phenomenon is very much alive and well although individual cults . . . may flower today and wither tomorrow" [Johnstone, 1975, p. 129].

THE MAINLINE CHURCHES A *mainline church is a religious denomination which seeks to harmonize religious and scientific viewpoints.* Mainline churches are still influential and still attract the bulk of believing worshippers, but they have difficulty in capturing the rather free-floating type of religious interest now apparent throughout the world. They are caught by conflicting demands which are difficult to satisfy. They seek to keep the mystery of religion while accepting scientific viewpoints and insist on individual freedom while asking for responsible behavior. Their acceptance of science disturbs those attracted by the occult, while their insistence on the spiritual nature of ultimate reality offends the skeptics. Similarly, their belief in individual freedom frustrates those seeking authoritarian guidance, while their demand for responsible behavior alienates those who wish "to do their own thing" without concern for societal standards. Thus, the mainline churches seek a synthesis between mysticism and rationalism and between freedom and responsibility Whether this can be done or whether a more generally satisfying religious experience will be provided by other types of religion remains to be seen.

THE FUTURE OF RELIGION. Every human society has developed religious belief systems. Even in avowedly atheistic societies, such as the communist states, secular belief systems and practices develop which strongly resemble religions.

The survival of religion as a human experience is as certain as any prediction a sociologist can make The question is not whether

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

article. For a different point of view, see Gary D. Bouma: "The Real Reason One Conservative Church Grew," *Review of Religious Research* 20:127–137, Spring 1979. Bouma attributes growth in the Christian Reformed Church to fertility and immigration rather than to its doctrinal appeal.

Mayrl, William W.: "The Christian-Marxian Encounter: From Dialogue to Detente," *Sociological Analysis*, 39:84–89, Spring 1978. A brief discussion of the effort to extend ecumenicity to discussions between Christians and Communists.

Seabury, Paul: "Trendier Than Thou," *Harper's Magazine* 257:39–52, October 1978. Current trends toward expressivism and social action in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Stark, Rodney and William Sims Bainbridge: "Secularization and Cult Formation in the Jazz Age," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20:360–373, December 1981. A study of the decline of mainline churches and the growth of cults.

"Varieties of Religious Experience," *Society*, 15:16–83, May/June 1978. A variety of articles, including such topics as cults, brainwashing, fundamentalist conversions, civil religion, the "Moonies," and Jewish orthodoxy.

Wilson, John. *Religion in American Society: The Effective Presence*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1978. A sociology of religion with an excellent chapter, "Religion, Ethnicity and Race."

Wimberly, Ronald C. and James A. Christenson: "Civil Religion and Other Religious Identities," *Sociological Analysis*, 42:91–100, Summer 1981. An analysis of civil religion and its support in various religious groups.

Yankelovich, Daniel: "The Hidden Appeal of the Moral Majority," *Psychology Today*, 15:23–25, November 1981. Argues that the Moral Majority draws support from those worried by permissive morality among youth.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Our primary educational institution is the formal school, from kindergarten to graduate school. (© *Michal Heron/Woodin Camp & Assoc.*)

recent years, the private-school share declined somewhat at elementary and secondary levels. The number of students attending private colleges has held constant, but the proportion of college students in private colleges has dropped from 33 percent in 1965 to 21 percent in 1980.

The 1970s saw an increase in schools conducted by Protestant fundamentalist groups, usually called Christian schools. They enroll only about 1 percent of the total students in precollege education, but their enrollment grew from 140,000 in 1971 to 450,000 in 1979. They are open to all races, but they attract few black students, and one of their major effects has been to provide an escape from integration. However, they also appeal on the grounds of strict discipline, Christian teaching, and higher academic standards [Pierce, 1981].

The question of whether private schools are superior to public schools has been debated for generations. One careful study of Catholic private schools some years ago could not substantiate either the special virtues or the special disabilities often claimed [Greeley and Rossi, 1966]. A more recent comparison, covering over 1,000 public and private schools, concluded that pupils learned more in the private schools, even after allowing for differences in family background [Coleman, 1981; Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore, 1982]. It attributed this to better discipline and more demanding academic standards in the private schools. One unmeasured factor, however, is the private schools' right to exclude the student who is disruptive or whose parents are uncooperative.

THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE MOVEMENT. One of the most significant trends in higher education has been the growing proportion of students attending community colleges. The number of two-year colleges, mostly community colleges, more than doubled between 1960 and 1980 (from 521 to 1,274). They offer low-cost higher education in or near the students' home communities. Many take two-year courses preparing for technical or semiprofessional careers of many kinds—dental technician, practical nurse, computer programmer, legal secretary, and many more. Others take an inexpensive two years at a community college and transfer to a four-year

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

the distinction between contest and sponsored mobility is not absolute. American schools come closer to the contest mobility model; European schools come closer to the sponsored mobility model. Communist countries generally claim to ignore "social position" in sorting out students, but otherwise tend to follow the sponsored mobility model. Third World countries show every possible variation or combination. In every society, some decisions must be made about who will enroll in advanced education

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

"No man is an island" said John Donne, a seventeenth century poet and clergyman. Sociologists say the same thing when they say that each person is a part of a social system. The school does not consist only of administrators, teachers, and students whose individual traits are simply added together. Rather, the school is a social system in which an established series of relationships determines what happens. Particular traits of individuals are less important than patterns of interaction. Whether the principal is jolly or sober, good-looking or ugly, intelligent or mediocre, a principal is still a principal and must act as principals are expected to act. The same is true of teachers, students, janitors, secretaries, and everyone else involved, regardless of their personal characteristics. Personal traits of individuals affect their ability to play roles in the system but do not determine the roles themselves. We learn little about the school by studying the personalities of individuals but a great deal by studying the expectations which people in different roles have toward one another

Interaction in the School

Systemic interaction in the school system may be viewed from at least three different perspectives: (1) the relation between insiders and outsiders, (2) the relation between different kinds of insiders, and (3) the relation between insiders in the same positions.

The person most obviously involved in relationships outside the system is the superintendent of schools. This is the person held responsible for operating the kind of school the public (or more exactly, different and often conflicting parts of the public) demands. At the same time, the superintendent is regarded by those within the system as their protector against unreasonable or unprofessional demands by outsiders and as the person who achieves harmony among various groups within the school. This triple task is by no means easy, and this is why superintendents often move on after only a few years with a particular school system

Superintendents are not, however, the only ones who interact with outsiders. Students find that parents have pretty definite expectations about how they ought to conduct themselves inside the school. In fact, parental expectations and home background have a great influence on student achievement (Johnson and Bachman, 1973). Teachers and principals are also citizens of the total community. They bring into school the attitudes they have formed in association with neighbors, friends, churches, political parties, and various interest groups. Even school custodians are affected by community interaction and sometimes are regarded by the public as more reliable reporters of school news than teachers and administrators, who may be biased by their professional role and training (Rafky, 1972).

Built-in conflicts in school relationships are numerous. The custodian's responsibility for cleanliness clashes with the public's desire for maximum use of the school building even after classes are ended. The professional freedom of the teachers conflicts with the superintendent's need for an orderly sequence of instruction from class to class and grade to grade. The principal's desire to try new methods is resisted by teacher and student hostility to change and by the system's need to present a solid front to the community. One of the

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

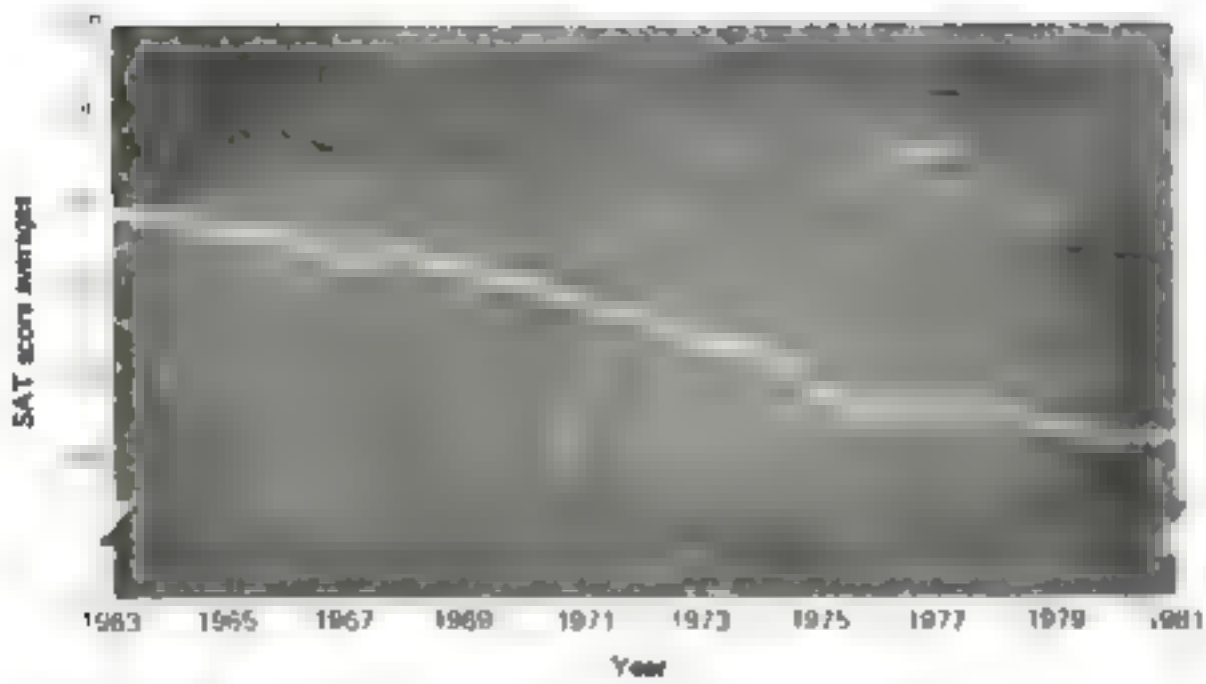


FIGURE 12-2 The SAT score decline (*Source*: Data from The College Board. Chart by Peter H. Stafford, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Vol 23, No. 6, October 7, 1981, p. 1. Reproduced by permission of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*)

of changes in learning of American students over time are equally disquieting. By every measure we can quantify, average student learning in the United States has declined in recent years, as shown in Figure 12-2. Even after making allowance for imperfect testing, we cannot avoid the conclusion that students are learning less than those of a generation ago.

What explains this decline? Partly it is due to decreased selectivity of schools. In 1950, half of the 25- to 29-year-old age group had been graduated from high school; in 1980, this figure had risen to 85 percent. Marginal students, who used to drop out, now remain in school and dilute the ability levels. The College Board holds the changing composition of the student body to be responsible for three-fourths of the drop in Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores between 1963 and 1970 but for only one-fourth of the drop since 1970 [College Board, 1977]. What accounts for the rest of the decline?

DISTRACTING INFLUENCES. The baleful influence of television on school learning has already been mentioned. The possession of a car offers the temptation of "cruising" and other diversions and often requires a part-time job for its support, crowding out homework. The popular habit of having television or radio providing background noise during homework is probably a distraction. Many other diversions compete for student attention.

School activities apparently are *not* an unfavorable influence. Research finds that the students making higher scores are also the students who participate in high school activities such as debate, music, drama, journalism, or athletics [College Board, 1977, p. 39]. Those who share in extracurricular activities are also less likely to become delinquent [Landers and Landers, 1978].

DILUTION OF OBJECTIVES. When schools whose students learn well are compared with schools whose students learn poorly, certain differences are striking, even after allowance is made for differences in student family and class backgrounds. The distinctive features of schools with high levels of learning are: (1) order and discipline, so that students and teachers can concentrate upon learning rather

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

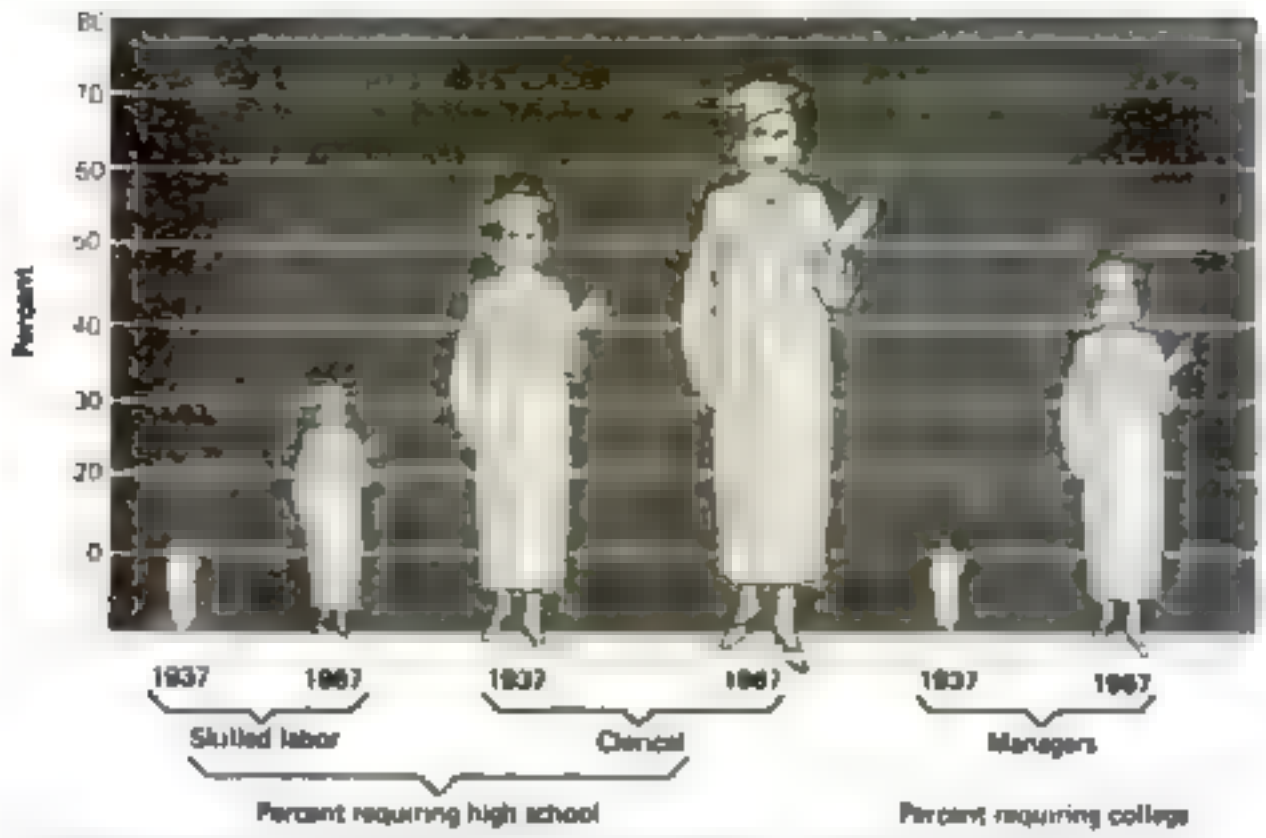


FIGURE 12-3 Increasing rate of credentialism. Percent of employers requiring high school or college diploma for various occupational categories. (*Source: Based on estimates in Randall Collins,* The Credential Society, *Academic Press, Inc., New York, 1979, p. 5.*)

Higher education is increasingly required for the better jobs. Is it always essential, or just for certain positions?

sure. Science was of so little practical importance that throughout the Napoleonic Wars, scientists traveled freely between France and England to share their harmless conversations.

Today, science is institutionalized. This means that it is recognized as highly important. It is standardized; scientists throughout the civilized world follow the same basic methods and procedures, for there is no capitalist or communist or Christian or atheist way to conduct a scientific experiment or to program a computer.

Science is the systematic quest for verifiable knowledge and dependable, orderly sequences, following certain rules and procedures as outlined in Chapter 1. *Technology* is the use of scientific discoveries to solve practical problems. Scientific investigation continuously turns up new findings through methods which have been thoroughly institutionalized. Scientists in governmental, industrial, or university laboratories work in predictable ways to bring about unpredictable discoveries. Whenever a major breakthrough occurs in either pure or applied science, industrial research and development (R&D) engineers apply this knowledge to the development of improved gadgets or more effective techniques of production. Interaction of other social institutions with science and technology is the most powerful influence of our time. Since this influence works both ways, let us first look at how other institutions influence science and technology.

The pursuit of science and the application of technology are subject to stimulus, restraint, and direction from government, business, religion, and education. Government may prop up outworn practices or may stimulate science and research. Government is today the largest source of research funding. Government may encourage new technology by tax laws favoring purchase of new equip-

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Just how governments developed is lost to history. We learn from anthropologists that the simplest societies had no government. Some, such as the Polar Eskimo, did not even have recognized "family heads," although some respected persons might have more influence than others (Murdock, 1936, p. 210) The growth of political authority apparently paralleled the growth of cultural complexity—from family head to tribal council to chief Yet many simple societies had no chiefs except, perhaps, temporary leaders of a raiding party.

The word "civilized" implies a system of civil law in place of (or in addition to) traditional authority, administered by certain designated officers. Civil government became necessary when the ancient river-valley civilizations arose along the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, the Ganges, and elsewhere. Irrigated agriculture, with its system of ditches and control gates, required protection from marauders as well as protection of land rights and other property. Trade and economic development created the need for government.

Feudalism was a set of economic and political institutions which developed in a number of places as an intermediate stage between tribal societies and the national state It was based upon a set of reciprocal rights and duties. The lord, in his castle with his retinue of knights, provided security, protecting the vassal's person, property, and right to use a piece of land. The vassal gave service and loyalty ("fealty") to the lord. Feudalism was thus a way of organizing life and work at a particular moment in history. It passed when increasing trade, growth of towns, and development of the centralized national state made feudalism an obstacle rather than a

WHERE SHARING IS INSTITUTIONALIZED

When one Eskimo gives to another in his band, he is usually giving to a relative or to a partner An exchange among those in close relationship is not a gift, and that is why the receiver does not offer thanks. An Eskimo praises a hunter for the way he hurled the harpoon but not for the way he shared the meat from the seal the harpoon killed Sharing is a kinsman's due, and it is not in the category of a gift The Arctic explorer Peter Freuchen once made the mistake of thanking an Eskimo hunter, with whom he had been living, for some meat. Freuchen's bad manners were promptly corrected: "You must not thank for your meat, it is your right to get parts. In this country, nobody wishes to be dependent upon others With gifts you make slaves just as with whips you make dogs!"

An important thing about exchange in the life of the Eskimo is that he alternates between feast and famine. One Eskimo hunter may be successful in killing seal after seal while another hunter is having a long streak of bad luck. Anyone who has been molded by a capitalistic culture knows what he might well do in similar circumstances—if he were the fortunate hunter and the others were in need. He would jack up prices. Such a thing could never happen in Eskimo society—not because an Eskimo is innately nobler than you or I, but because an Eskimo knows that despite his plenty today, assuredly he will be in want tomorrow. He knows also that the best place for him to store his surplus is in someone else's stomach, because sooner or later he will want his gift repaid Pure selfishness has given the Eskimo a reputation for generosity and earned him the good opinion of missionaries and of all others who hunger and thirst after proof of the innate goodness of man.

From Man's Rise to Civilization as Shown by the Indians of North America from Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State by Peter Farb. Copyright © 1968 by Peter Farb. Reprinted by permission of the publisher E. P Dutton, Inc.

Would institutionalized sharing work as well in a town of a thousand as in a band of perhaps fifty? In a city of a million?

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Communism has become the way some underdeveloped countries try to modernize and industrialize themselves [Ebenstein and Fogelman, 1980, p 113] Communism typically gains support in poor countries with an archaic social system, great inequality, and a tiny upper class which clings to privilege but often does little to advance economic growth or to reduce poverty. An authoritarian government ruthlessly suppresses movements for democratic reform, whose leadership is systematically murdered or exiled. To the suffering masses, communism may seem to be the only alternative to more of the same misery [Kiernan, 1972; LaFeber, 1982, Pastor, 1982]. An artful propaganda is supplemented by terrorist activities often financed and sponsored by communist nations. Thus, ideological campaigns win support from intellectuals, while guerrilla terrorism handicaps the operation of the government and may convince the undecided that communism is the irresistible "wave of the future."

It is, however, debatable whether communism offers the most rapid route of economic improvement for underdeveloped countries. Most of the recently independent nations have rejected the communist pattern in favor of a mixed economy. A few of these nations, such as Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan, have had rapid economic growth and rapidly rising prosperity with a mixed economic system which is more capitalist than collectivist

Fascist Societies

A fascist society is ruled by a one-party dictatorship organized by a charismatic leader The people have practically no voice in governmental affairs and find their satisfaction in the glorious strength of the nation Military power and conquest were major features of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, but Franco's Spain and Perón's Argentina operated without military expansionism. In 1982, a neofascist Argentine government invaded the sparsely settled, British-populated Falkland Islands. The invasion came shortly after large-scale demonstrations against the Argentine government and apparently was designed to persuade citizens to "rally around the flag" and forget domestic woes. It illustrates the sociological principle that a group can be unified, at least temporarily, by conflict with an outside enemy

In fascist countries, private ownership of business is tolerated but with limited freedom and detailed state direction. Welfare benefits are provided by the state and are as high as the stage of industrial development and the needs of the military will allow. All private interests are subordinated to the state. Labor unions become agencies for imposing state policy upon workers, while churches are either forced to support the regime or find their activities severely restricted. Fascism develops in countries with a relatively advanced economy and some democratic experience Such countries may "turn fascist" when they have been unable to reconcile their social tensions or to solve their social problems democratically [Ebenstein and Fogelman, 1980, p. 113].

Communists and Fascists have each pictured the other as the enemy of human freedom. They have each claimed that the only way to stop the wicked deeds of the other was to put themselves in power, but they look more and more alike, and some scholars begin to speak of a communist-fascist convergence [Fischer-Galati, 1981]

Politicoeconomic Systems of Developing Countries

At the time of this writing, 1983, no countries had governments which exactly fitted the fascist model, but there are a number of dictatorships with many similarities, mostly in developing countries. These are one-party states ruled either by an army general or by a politician with military support. Rather than a strident nationalism, their basis for support

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

style of life, common economic interests, and a common point of view. This point of view is said to be scornful of such traditional values as familism, nationalism, and free enterprise [Phillips, 1977; Bennett and Delattre, 1978; Berger, 1981].

Some leftists critics [Anderson, 1974, Domhoff, 1970, 1978, 1980] are equally sure that a core of top-level academics, generals, government officials, and corporation executives dominate the society on behalf of big business. It is "they" who maintain an unequal distribution of income and intentionally preserve poverty in order to protect privilege [Gans, 1972], it is "they" who keep the country at war or on the brink of war to profit the "military-industrial complex."

One recent study compared the "business elite" (a sample of executives of large corporations) with the "media elite" (a sample of top journalists and television news commentators). This study concluded that "each group rates the other as the most influential group in America, moreover, each wants to reduce substantially the power of the other and to take its place as the most influential group" [Rothman and Lichter, 1982, p. 118].

Almost any governmental action will be denounced by someone as the act of an elitist conspiracy. This conspiratorial elite (leftist or rightist, depending upon who is name-calling) is so sly and deceitful that it sometimes accepts a measure which seems to be against its own interests. Thus, according to leftists, the welfare system is supported by the rich as a device for "regulating the poor" and preserving the capitalist system [Piven and Cloward, 1971]. Any given act of government can be interpreted by either the leftist or the rightist critics to prove that the United States is dominated by a power elite

Can the power elite and pluralist views of power be reconciled? First, while there are few, if any, "conspiracies" and while most important maneuvers are conducted in the open, there is group action. Citizens with common interests do meet, talk together, and plan strategy. Sometimes they get the changes they desire. More often, they encounter opposition and must make compromises. Second, some people are experts in the management of organizations or in creating a public image. Whether born poor or rich, such people are soon affluent. They tend to join with people like themselves in both formal and informal association and often come to think very much alike. Finally, while many people spend their careers in a single occupation, there is some movement of personnel between institutions. This is most marked in civil government, since many officials have had earlier careers in industry, education, or the military

One scholar [Whitt, 1979] rejects the pluralist-elitist argument as irrelevant, since both views are partly true but inadequate. He proposes a *class-dialectic model* in which the state normally serves the interests of the dominant class, but this dominant class is sometimes disunited within itself and may be successfully challenged by organized competing class interests. The question of who really runs the government has no simple answer

Power of Unorganized Masses

In the days of feudalism, government was a monopoly of the nobility and the ordinary person had no direct voice at all. Nevertheless, government usually operated as expected. This was because noble and commoner shared a set of institutionalized ideas about how things should be done. The noble might make the formal government decisions, but he made them on the basis of traditional beliefs accepted by all in the society.

In the modern era of rapid change, tradition has little weight and governments can take actions which violate long-standing traditions. The ordinary citizen has the right to vote but has little understanding of govern-

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

products, designs, and entertainment forms will succeed, and (2) in the mass veto of elite decisions through mass noncooperation. The masses also possess direct political power and can, for example, determine through voting which leaders will rule. Efforts to organize the poor into effective organizations have not been very successful.

Relatively small, single-issue voter groups wield disproportionate political power, unless directly opposed by other equally committed single-issue voters. *Proportional representation* enhances the power of single-issue voters, since it strengthens the probability that small political parties can exercise a veto. This power may prevent effective government action and encourage a resort to dictatorship.

Coercion and *disruption* have become techniques of minority groups seeking policy change. Coercion may be *forceful* or *nonviolent*. *Nonviolent coercion* includes *civil disobedience* and several techniques variously known as *nonresistance*, *passive resistance*, or *nonviolent resistance*. *Disruption* is often used by very small groups to seek concessions from the majority. They are dangerous weapons which may gain victories but which often undermine democratic processes and may provoke a repressive reaction. *Terrorism* permits a small group to coerce the majority through fear of violence and is a way of destabilizing governments.

Judicial and bureaucratic activism tend to expand (or, rarely, to contract) the impact of laws and constitutional provisions beyond the intent of their makers.

An emergent American consensus carries basic agreement upon the welfare state, profit-making business, and the work ethic as basic American values.

GLOSSARY

capitalism system based on private profit-seeking and private ownership of productive wealth

civil disobedience open and public defiance of a law together with willing acceptance of legal punishment

class-dialectic model system of social power in which dominant class groups usually prevail but can be weakened by disunity or challenged by organized competing class interests.

communism system based on theories of Karl Marx, with state ownership of productive wealth and (supposedly) equality of all citizens

fascist society a one-party society ruled by a dictator stressing nationalism. Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy, and Franco's Spain are examples.

feudalism system intermediate between tribal and national societies, based upon mutual obligations between nobles and people in each locality

judicial activism tendency for judges to expand or enlarge upon existing laws and constitutional provisions by judicial interpretation

mixed economy one which combines capitalism with government enterprise and control and welfare services

pluralist one who believes that there is no one center of power and that decision making is the result of conflict and compromise between many different groups and individuals

power elite highly placed executives who are assumed to control organizations and, thereby, the government

proportional representation a method of allocating legislative seats equal to the proportion of votes cast by different parties

socialism system in which the means of production are socially owned and controlled either by direct worker ownership or through the state

terrorism the use of violence or the threat of violence to coerce governments, authorities, or populations

QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1 Why, over many centuries, has the relative importance

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Differences in status, power, and income are found in all but the simplest societies. (*Peter Buckley/Photo Researchers, Inc.*)

to be above ours and are condescending to those whom we consider socially below us. These processes of snubbing and kowtowing, of trying to claw one's way in or of shouldering out the person who doesn't "belong"—provide inexhaustible material for hundreds of novels, plays, movies, and television scripts.

The members of a social class view one another as social equals, while holding themselves to be socially superior to some and socially inferior to others. In placing people in the proper social class, one asks such questions as: "To whose dinner party will they be asked as social equals?" or "For whose daughter will their son be an 'acceptable' escort?" The members of a particular social class often have about the same amount of money, but what is much more important is that they have much the same attitudes, values, and way of life.

How many classes are there? This question is hard to answer. Classes are not sharply defined status groupings like the different ranks in an army. Social status varies along a continuum, a gradual slope from top to bottom, rather than a series of steps. As "youth," "middle age," and "old age" are

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

PEOPLE WHO ARE POOR

Nearly half of the poor families are headed by women. This feminization of poverty shows no sign of slowing as out-of-wedlock birth and divorce rates continue to soar. If the trend continues, warns the President's National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity, "the poverty population would be composed solely of women and their children before the year 2000."

"Life Below the Poverty Line," *Newsweek* 98:21, April 5 1982.

Are family institutions and economic institutions interrelated?

which is hard to escape. The one-parent family is the only family poverty category which increased between 1959 and 1980 [*Statistical Abstract*, 1981, Table 748, p. 497].

Status Symbols

One of the rewards of higher social status is to be recognized as a superior. Since the rich and wellborn look like other people, they need some means of ensuring that their position is recognized. In the past, this has been found through the *status symbol*, which can be any desirable trait or object whose supply is sharply limited [Blumberg, 1974, p. 481], such as a Cadillac, mink coat, private swimming pool, and diamond. Such items were valued as much for their status shouting as for their utility or beauty.

The traditional status symbols appear to have lost some of their appeal in recent years. Incomes have risen, making these symbols available to a larger sector of the population. Most American families own automobiles, and over a third own two or more. By sacrificing other items or by using a secondhand car, it is fairly easy to get even the most expensive model. Genuine jewelry and furs may be beyond the reach of many people, but imitations which can be detected only by experts make them available to most people.

Concern for ecology has also made some status symbols less acceptable. Does a big car indicate success or simply a callous indifference to gasoline shortage and air pollution? Sometimes the trend for fashion to filter down from the rich is reversed and the rich seem to be copying the poor. For instance, during the 1970s the work clothing of the lower classes was copied by the affluent young (and some of their elders).

Even intangible symbols are no longer as effective as formerly. Golf is played by the assembly-line worker as well as by the professional. Television brings a wide variety of cultural fare into all American homes. A great majority of youths have been graduated from high school, and so many have been graduated from college that degrees have less and less status value. The homogenizing effects of American social mobility are weakening both material and nonmaterial status symbols.

Status symbols still survive, however, as can be seen in the practice of having a conspicuous designer label or some embroidered symbol (at this writing, an alligator). Blue jeans are not lower-class garments if labeled Jordache or Calvin Klein. Shoes are more than utilitarian if made by Gucci or Bill Blass. Status symbols are still present, but the particular things which are status symbols may change over time.

SIZE OF EACH SOCIAL CLASS

Earlier studies agreed that, in a six-class ranking scale, the two lower classes included slightly over half the U.S. population [Warner and Lunt, 1941; Centers, 1949]. Later studies seemed to indicate that the lower classes were decreasing in size and the middle and upper classes were increasing. The most recent income estimates seem to indicate a reversal of that trend, but the two lower classes still represent less than half the population.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

before birth, while poverty thereafter continues to handicap the poor. The lower-class person is not only likely to die prematurely but will also endure more days of illness during a lifetime. Census data on "work disability" (defined as work absences due to "serious impairment that may last a relatively long period of time") finds an annual rate of 141 disability periods per 1,000 men in the lowest income group, as compared with 56 for men in the highest income group [*Statistical Bulletin of Metropolitan Life*, 57:8, March 1976].

Happiness and Social Class

In 1974, Cameron and his colleagues asked a large sample of people to report their feelings of happiness or unhappiness. They found that happiness did not vary by the presence or absence of physical handicaps or of mental retardation. Neither was it affected by age, for the old are happy about as often as the young. Of all the factors they studied, social class seemed to have the strongest relationship. In a summary of several such studies, Easterlin [1973] found that the proportion reporting themselves as "very happy" rose steadily from 25 percent in the lowest income group to 50 percent for those with incomes of over $15,000 (comparable to about $35,000 in 1983).

The data show no relation between the wealth of a country and the happiness of its citizens. Easterlin's analysis shows that the population of the United States was no happier in 1970 than in 1940, although real income was 60 percent higher in 1970. International comparisons show that citizens of wealthier industrialized countries are no happier than those of poorer, less developed countries. It is not absolute income but the ratio between income and needs that is important. Within a given society there is some degree of consensus among most people as to their "real needs." The more prosperous people in that society are better able to meet their needs and thus more likely to be happy than those who are less prosperous. But in the more prosperous societies, the standard of "need" is higher. Thus, it is relative advantage rather than absolute amount of money which makes for happiness.

TABLE 14-4
HAPPINESS AND INCOME
(Question: "Generally speaking, how happy would you say you are—very happy, fairly happy, or not too happy?")

Income	PERCENT RESPONDING			
	Very happy	Fairly happy	Not too happy	Don't know
$25,000 and over	56	38	5	1
$20,000–$24,999	48	44	8	*
$15,000–$19,999	48	42	9	1
$10,000–$14,999	38	48	12	2
$ 5,000–$ 9,999	40	47	12	1
Under $5,000	35	39	26	*

*Indicates less than 1%
Source: Gallup Reports, 189:38–39, June 1981.

Does having more money make people any happier? Or do people who are happy earn more money?

Later studies [Campbell, 1980; Fernandez and Kulik, 1981] show similar results, except that the influence of income is slightly less important than in previous years. Material success may be less important than formerly, but within each society the prosperous are happier than the poor.

Not *all* the rich are happy. The children of the rich are more likely to suffer "dysgradia," which is a constellation of ills, including severe anomie and depression. According to Wixen, who made a study entitled *Children of the Rich* [1973], dysgradia arises when middle-class values of work and family life which have been strongly held by the older generation make no sense to their children. Life has been so easy for the rich children, and their sense of security is so great, that they sometimes see no need for hard work either

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

The reason for designating them as a separate "class" [Briggs, 1979] is that their attitudes may differ from the attitudes of others with similar incomes. This communications elite is more liberal in social and political attitudes than the business elite [Rothman and Lichter, 1982]. They do not draw their money directly from business profits, and their training may lead them to take a critical view of the business society. They are seen as competing with business people for power and prestige. Therefore, they welcome "big government," which may provide them with jobs and influence, since even poverty programs use middle-class administrators. Government expansion is often justified by lower-class welfare needs, but expanding government also leads to more jobs and power for the new class. Thus the new class is an affluent group which seems to identify with lower-class political interests.

THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL CLASSES: FROM "PROLETARIAT" TO "STATUS SEEKERS"

Karl Marx, in *Das Kapital* and in the *Communist Manifesto*, stressed the importance of social class more than any other thinker in history. In the Marxist view, conflict between social classes has been continuous since the dawn of history, and the rise and fall of various social classes offer the key to the understanding of history. Prior to the industrial revolution, the top social class was a landed aristocracy which owned great estates by inheritance and noble rank. The industrial revolution forced this class to share top status with rich manufacturers, traders, and financiers.

Marx prophesied that the ultimate struggle would take place between the proletariat (wage workers) and the bourgeoisie (capitalists) and would end in the inevitable triumph of the proletariat, who would establish a classless society under the banner of communism. This interpretation of history gave to Communists a sort of "messianic hope" which enabled them to believe that, in spite of present obstacles, history was on their side and their final triumph was certain. For many years discussion of social class centered on the validity of the Marxist analysis.

The current opinion among social scientists is that Marx was only partly correct and that the class struggle is not proceeding as he predicted. Marx expected that classes would grow further apart as industrialization advanced. Hence the lower class would become more conscious of its distinct interests and more hostile to the upper class (more "class conscious"), while the middle classes would gradually be pushed down into the proletariat.

Marxist scholars would disagree with most of the content of this chapter. They reject the usual definition of social class as a status level based upon life-style, education, occupation, and income. They believe the important distinction is between those who own the means of production and control their own conditions of work and those whose means of production and conditions of work are owned and controlled by others. This would make the working class the largest class in America since it would include most of those who are commonly viewed as middle class [Wright et al., 1982].

If one follows the definition of social class as given in this chapter, then the Marxist class predictions are not being fulfilled. The classes are coming closer together both in possessions and in attitudes. The middle class is stronger than ever in Western societies, and the workers are gaining a stake in the society which Marx wanted them to overthrow.

Marxist societies seem to follow a common pattern: After the revolution the traditional class privileges are abolished in a determined attempt at equality; then class distinctions gradually reappear. By the 1950s in the Soviet Union, the Communist party officers, factory

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

15 Social Mobility

NATURE OF SOCIAL MOBILITY
Individual and Group Mobility
Direction of Social Mobility
COSTS AND GAINS OF MOBILITY
MOBILITY DETERMINANTS
Structural Factors
Individual Factors
Interaction of All Factors
MOBILITY PROSPECTS
Mobility of Women
SOCIETAL MOBILITY
Mobility of Developing Countries
What About Poverty?
MOBILITY OR EQUALITY?
SUMMARY
GLOSSARY
QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS
SUGGESTED READINGS

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

A few people with limited education greatly prosper

is hard to find unless one can read directions and do simple arithmetic. About one in five Americans is "functionally illiterate," and most of these people spend their lives on the bottom rung of the mobility ladder [Drinan, 1983]. In much of business and industry, there is not one mobility ladder but two. One stops with the job of foreman; the other begins with a job in the "executive development program" and ends with the presidency. To get on this second mobility ladder without a college degree is rare.

Education is not equally important for all careers. College and professional degrees are essential for careers as physicians, lawyers, or teachers, they are helpful but not essential in business ownership and operation; they are not at all important for careers as professional athletes or popular entertainers (many professional athletes attend college, but completing a degree has little or no effect upon their professional careers).

We are often reminded that school dropouts usually fare poorly in the job market, but much of this can be attributed to factors other than lack of formal education (such as class background, family disruption, limited ability, delinquency history and other disabilities) [Hansen, 1970; Bachman, 1972]. Some school dropouts have been highly successful. In fact, at least 3 of the 400 richest persons in the United States are reported to be dropouts [Seneker et al., 1982]. This raises the question of whether the association between education and earnings (see Table 15-2) is causative or selective. In other words, do the educated earn more because they are educated, or is it because those who already have more advantages (greater ability, good family background, emotional stability, good work habits) are more likely to become educated? It is likely that both possibilities are true but in unknown proportions. It is possible that for many careers, the greatest value of education lies not in the particular knowledge and skills it provides but in cultivating one's ability to locate and use information as it is needed [Kohn, 1981, p. 277]. We may conclude that for a great many people, education is a prime mobility ladder but that it is possibly less necessary for all kinds of careers than has generally been assumed.

Work Habits These are sometimes overlooked as a mobility factor. One recent study concludes that work habits learned in early childhood are the most important of all predictors of eventual success and well-being [Vaillant and Vaillant, 1981]. Hard work car-

TABLE 15-2
INCOME AND EDUCATION, 1981

Education	Median income
Less than 8 years	$ 7,125
8 years	9,270
Some high school	11,938
High school graduate	16,969
Some college	19,504
College graduate	23,640
5 or more years college	27,339

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States, 1981*, ser. P-60, no. 134, March 1982, table 7. Students should remember that inflation rapidly makes any figures out of date and it is the relationship rather than the absolute amounts which is important.

How could we decide how much of these income differences to attribute to education and how much to other differences between the persons who do and who do not become educated?

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Extreme poverty makes upward mobility very difficult. (*Max Tharpe/Monkmeyer Press Photo Service, Don Gestug/Photo Researchers, Inc.*)

Probably the acid test of the degree of upward social mobility is the proportion of the population who have moved above the poverty line (see Figure 15-3). Such mobility above the poverty line takes place both by overcoming individual handicaps and by making special provision for those with low incomes

OVERCOMING HANDICAPS Rehabilitation programs such as medical care, counseling, and vocational training may help overcome handicaps. People may be restored to health, be enabled to overcome emotional despair, or be trained for remunerative work. Many people who are poor can profit from such rehabilitative services, and many are kept from becoming poor by such help. Accompanying these efforts are provisions to make society an easier place for the physically handicapped to function. These include the laws against discrimination and requirements that buildings be modified to permit the easy movement of those who may not be able to walk.

Many countries are giving increasing attention to such rehabilitative efforts and have had some success. However, it is a continuous struggle, and there are many of the poor whose troubles are not of the type likely to be helped by rehabilitation programs.

TRANSFER PAYMENTS Industrialized countries have made a good deal of progress in

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

> Some would be surprised that the average black cannot be associated with poverty, welfare or unemployment. Indeed, according to the latest Urban League report on the status of blacks in America, 83 percent work for a living, 77 percent are not on welfare and 62 percent do not live in poverty. This is not to say that we should not be about the important business of reducing the 16 percent who are unemployed, the 23 percent who are on welfare or the 38 percent who do live in poverty. It is only to say that we must be careful not to leave the impression in the minds of blacks and whites, particularly the young ones, that most blacks play no productive role in the economic life of this nation. This is not true.
>
> (Dan J. Smith, "Black Objectives for the 1980s," in Thomas Sowell et al. (eds.), *The Fairmont Papers. Black Alternatives Conference*, Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco, 1981, p. 14.) © by Institute for Contemporary Studies. Used by permission.

RACIAL AND ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION

"Race" is a troublesome concept, for it has no generally agreed upon meaning. In popular usage, "race" may mean all of humanity (the "human race"), a nationality (the "German race"), or even a group which is mixed in nearly all respects but socially designated as different (the "Jewish race"). Almost any kind of category of people may be called a "race."

Even social scientists have not fully agreed in defining the term. Some have defined a race as a group of people separated from other groups by a distinctive combination of physical characteristics. As will be seen later, this poses certain difficulties because of intermixing, overlapping, and the gradual shading of physical characteristics (e.g., skin color) along a continuum without definite separations. Therefore, a "race" is not a biologically distinct grouping of people, yet many people think and act as though it were. Race is a socially significant reality, for people attach great importance to one's presumed "race." The scientist's fondness for neat scientific precision must be tempered by the need to deal with an important social reality. Perhaps an acceptable definition might read: *A race is a group of people somewhat different from other groups in its combination of inherited physical characteristics, but race is also substantially determined by popular social definition.*

It is conventional to divide the human species into three main racial stocks—the Mongoloid (yellow and brown), the Negroid (black), and the Caucasoid (white). Most groups can be placed in one of these three categories, as is shown in Figure 16-1. This figure also shows that the racial placement of some groups is uncertain because their physical characteristics overlap. For example, the Asian Indians have Mongoloid skin color but Caucasoid facial features, the Ainu of northern Japan have Caucasoid skin color and hair but Mongoloid facial features. A further complication arises from the fact that the races have been busily interbreeding for thousands of years so that nearly all racial groups are considerably intermixed. In recent years, it has become common to refer to Americans with Negroid ancestry as *blacks* rather than as Negroes. This is not very different, since *negro* is a Spanish word meaning black. In this textbook, we have generally used the term *black*, except when reproducing quotations and statistical or historical materials.

Sociologists use the term *ethnic group* to refer to *any kind of group, racial or otherwise, which is socially identified as different and has developed its own subculture.* In other words, an ethnic group is one recognized by society and by itself as a distinct group. Although the distinction is associated with a particular set of ancestors, its identifying marks may be language, religion, geographic location, nationality, physical appearance, or any combination of these. The term is properly applied whenever the group differences are consid-

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Ethnic groups are allowed and even encouraged to preserve their ethnic culture. How do such parades do this? (© *Katrina Thomas Photo Researchers, Inc.*)

onies and should separate from the rule of the majority. Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and American blacks all have separatist movements, but none has attracted a mass following. In Puerto Rican elections, the Independence party always gets a tiny vote. Black separatism in the United States is not new [Hall, 1978], it attracted much interest in the late 1960s [Hamilton, 1972], but little is heard of it today. Black capitalism has not been very successful and now more blacks are gaining executive promotions within white corporations [Irons, 1976; Osborne, 1976; Davis and Watson, 1982]. Separatism for American blacks has been opposed by those who feel that it would leave blacks in control of a vast poverty area, with inadequate resources of their own and little support from indifferent whites [Pettigrew, 1971]

CULTURAL PLURALISM. Cultural pluralism is a form of accommodation in which ethnic groups retain their distinct cultural differences and traditions, while cooperating peacefully and relatively equally in political, economic, and social life. The standard example of cultural pluralism is Switzerland, where Protestants and Catholics have been able to live agreeably under the same government, while speaking German, French, or Italian. Since Swiss citizens do not feel that either their religious loyalty or their ethnic identification is threatened by other Swiss, they are free to give a complete allegiance to the Swiss nation as a common government which allows for the tolerance of distinctly different cultural groups. Other examples of cultural pluralism would include Canada (English and French), Belgium (French-speaking and Flemish-speaking), Lebanon (Muslim and Christian), and Malta (Greek and Turk). Civil war in two of these countries and sep-

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

characteristics of inner-city blacks today were also true of many non-English immigrant groups earlier in the century. Even the black-white IQ difference (averaging about fifteen points) is similar to that between immigrant children and children of native-born parents earlier in the century

> Extensive I.Q. data are available on white ethnic minorities around the time of World War I and in the 1920's. . . . The various data sources all led to the same conclusion: The European immigrant I.Q.'s then were virtually identical to black I.Q.'s now. What is encouraging is that the low-I.Q. immigrant groups of the past now have I.Q.'s at or above U.S. average. European ancestry has not meant high I.Q.'s nor has non-European ancestry meant low I.Q.'s. The I.Q. average has varied widely with time, place and the circumstance of the groups tested. For groups with upward mobility, there has been a marked rise in I.Q.'s over time. The average I.Q.'s of Italian-Americans and Polish-Americans have risen by 20 to 25 points from the time of the surveys conducted around World War I to the surveys conducted in the 1970's. This rise is greater than the current I.Q. difference—about 15 points—between blacks and whites. (Thomas Sowell, "New Light on Black I.Q.," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 27, 1977. © 1976/1977 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.)

There is also the fact—distressing to believers in innate white superiority—that Asian children often make *higher* average IQ scores than native white Americans. Japanese children, for example, score higher than white American children by an average of eleven IQ points according to one study [Lynn, 1982] and by six points according to another [Flynn, 1983]. Most social scientists agree that the IQ is not a reliable measure of the native abilities of groups who differ in cultural background. Most social scientists agree in assuming that all racial and ethnic groups are equal in the inheritance of everything that is important for behavior and learning. It is reasonable to assume that the black-white IQ difference will disappear with the advent of better jobs, better schools, and better housing—just as it did for the European immigrant groups earlier in this century.

Black Mobility

Blacks in the United States have had both gains and losses since the end of slavery. They made modest gains in education and land ownership, but took losses in occupational status. Before the Civil War, many of the skilled workers of the South were black slaves, but blacks were driven from all but menial work within a generation after the Civil War ended [Horton and Leslie, 1981, p. 323]. Black migration from the South accelerated after World War I, but except for a tiny black middle and upper class, most blacks were poor, propertyless, poorly educated, and unskilled, and they had no realistic prospect of upward mobility [Myrdal, 1944, chap. 9 and appendix 6]. Even as late as 1960, black college graduates could seldom find jobs except as teachers or preachers, and the lifetime earnings of black college graduates were averaging the same as those of whites with only an eighth-grade education [Horton and Leslie, 1965, p. 404]. A full recital of the facts of discrimination and inequality would fill the rest of this textbook.

History offers few examples of a group making as rapid gains as those of American blacks in recent decades, some of which are shown in Figures 16-2 and 16-3. Average earnings per worker have risen from about 50 percent of average white earnings in 1949 [Freeman, 1981, p. 251] to about 70 percent in 1976. Where earlier generations of blacks found that education did not bring higher earnings, each year of added education now brings even greater income gains to blacks than to whites [Kilson, 1981, p. 67]. By 1978, earnings of young black college graduates even exceeded those of comparable whites: $15,217 for black male graduates aged 25 to 29 and $14,013 for comparable whites, while

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

in the past few weeks, the world s 4 billionth human being was born. Let us read the baby s horoscope substituting our paperback sociology for astrology and statistics for stars. This baby was probably a female born to an Asian, African or Latin American family Her father is a sharecropping farmer her mother sweeps. draws water fetches firewood mends and washes the clothes. does the marketing at the village junction, cooks, looks after the children and helps out in the fields when weeding. harvesting, threshing, winnowing. pound ng or stacking is the order of the day

At 10 the little girl will realize that her parents do not seem to be too worried about her and her two sisters who are in school. but that they constantly moan about their sons one 17 one 15. The oldest one has finished his schooling and the younger one has dropped out but they cannot find work. They could help out in the paddy field but they do not consider that sort of thing suitable for educated young men Neither do their parents

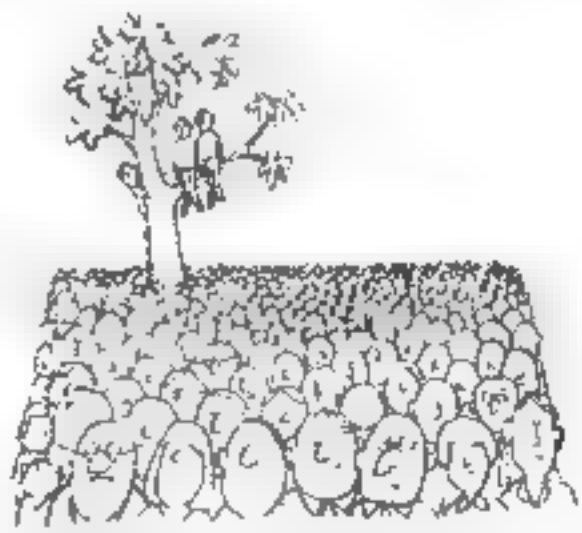
Occasionally ladies and gentlemen from the city and even far-off places like England and America come to the shantytown to ask questions and leave unreadable pamphlets behind. One of them, a lady who seems offensively antiseptic in that setting. makes a speech warning the people of the shantytown that the world s population has been growing rapidly for many years and that in ten or 25 years time it will reach the explosion point " The family s political son. his eyes bloodshot with a kind of rage asks why this is so since people seem to have fewer children now The antiseptic lady says it is because fewer people are dying The political brother answers sarcastically "That s just too bad isn't it?" and people snicker Another man in the crowd asks what will happen when the explosion point is reached "Civilization will crumble" replies the lady The crowd roars with laughter, looking around the crumbling shacks in which its members have spent so many years of their lives

(Varindra Tarzie Vittach *Newsweek International Edition*, March 8. 1976 p 15)

Population has been relatively stable throughout most of history. In the first 1,650 years after the birth of Christ, world population a little more than doubled. In the next 125 years, it doubled again. World population is now estimated at over 4 billion and is expected to be about 6 billion by the year 2000 [Haub and Heiser, 1980]

World population now grows in about 6 years by as many persons as it grew in the first 1,650 years following the birth of Christ. If 1960 rates of growth were continued for 800 years, we would have one person per square foot of land surface of the earth [Hauser, 1960]

Demographers are interested in the size, distribution, and composition of a population There is a critical population density below which there are too few people to support modern technology. Overpopulation means too many to be comfortably supported. For each geographic area, there is an ideal population size which permits a higher per-capita production than either a higher or a lower population level. This is called the *optimum population*. The concept is easily stated, but it is difficult to determine just what is the optimum population for an area.



One person per square foot of land surface in less than 800 years

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Asian and African countries) was replaced by a new system abolishing quotas and giving priority to relatives of American residents and to those with occupational skills useful to the United States. Meanwhile, prosperity in Northwestern Europe made migration to the United States less attractive to Europeans than in the past. The result is that immigration from the United Kingdom and Northern Europe has sharply decreased and that from Southern Europe and Asia has increased. For instance, immigration from the Philippines has increased tenfold and that from Portugal more than sixfold, while the proportion from Germany and the United Kingdom dropped by more than one-half between 1965 and 1970

In recent years, Europe has also faced immigration problems. Some 7 million foreign workers, accompanied by wives and children, live in Western European countries. Most are from other European nations, but France, Germany, and Great Britain have sizable numbers from Asia and Africa. The migrants were welcome during periods of prosperity, but in the recession of the early 1980s, tensions arose. They are now often seen as ethnic minorities constituting a "second class society, living in economic and social deprivation that acts as a catalyst for confrontation" [*U S. News & World Report*, 1982a]

Most of the rest of the world, like the United States, has also followed selective or restrictive immigration policies. The countries which encourage immigration are those like Brazil, Canada, and Australia, which are considered underpopulated. They welcome immigrants as a means of developing their resources, although even these countries have some restrictions.

Questions about U.S. policy center on the extent of illegal immigration and the effect of immigration on population increase. Illegal immigration is hard to measure, but 953,000 illegal immigrants were arrested in 1981 [Haupt, 1982] Some of those deported return in a few days, and there are an estimated 6 to 10 million illegal aliens living in the United States. The majority of illegal immigrants are Mexicans who crossed the border illegally, but there are many other nationalities, most of whom enter the country as legal visitors and then overstay their visas. The "push" comes from Mexican society with much poverty, unemployment, and overpopulation. The "pull" comes from the prospect of wages, which, while very low by American standards, are many times higher than these workers can get in Mexico.

The 2,000-mile border with Mexico is obviously difficult to police, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service feels that its funds are inadequate In addition, there is much business pressure to "go easy" on the illegal immigrants Fruit growers, truck farmers, and many other business people find it difficult to get local Americans to take lower-level jobs. It is very difficult to identify the illegal immigrants without harassing legal immigrants of the same nationality. Illegal immigration is extremely difficult to control

Not all immigrants are uneducated and unskilled [Joyce and Hunt, 1982]. Many are highly successful in business and the professions. Some 30 percent of the American Nobel Prize winners have been immigrants [Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, 1981]

The United States has traditionally welcomed refugees from oppression. In the recent case of illegal Haitian immigrants, some have sought to broaden the definition of refugee. It may be argued whether most Haitians are oppressed, but there is no denying that most Haitians are desperately poor [McGrath, 1982]. Some propose that the United States should accept "economic refugees" as well Since a sizable proportion of the world's population could qualify as economic refugees, opening the gates to their entry would place a major strain on American resources.

Despite current restrictions, the United States is still one of the few countries taking large numbers of immigrants. At present levels of legal and illegal immigration, it would be

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

The total black and Hispanic birthrate is higher than the white, but it shows the same relationship to social status. Among the college educated, the black birthrate is actually lower than the white. Women in the labor force have smaller families than those not employed. This supports a current theory that women's liberation is a vital aspect of population control.

In the United States and in many other countries as well, the birthrate differential between social categories has narrowed. Rural and urban birthrates are nearly the same. Married white women, 35 to 44 years of age with one to three years of high school, had a birthrate 141 percent of college-graduated women's birthrates in 1975, but had dropped to 128 percent in 1980 [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976, p. 36, 1982*d*, p. 60]. The Asian and the white birthrates were nearly identical in 1980 [Davis, 1982, p. 8]. Black birthrates dropped from 18.4 in 1970 to 15.9 in 1979 [*Statistical Abstract*, 1981, p. 59]. Birthrates of Hispanic women between 35 and 44 years of age dropped 19 percent in the same period [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976, p. 34, 1982*d*, p. 53]. This would seem to show that easier access to family planning clinics in recent years has lowered the birthrate of the more highly fertile groups. If this trend continues, we may see racial, regional, and economic birthrate differences disappear.

This will not happen immediately. For some years we can expect a higher fertility among lower-income groups and large ethnic minorities. Current estimates anticipate a population growth of 23 percent in the United States between 1980 and the year 2000. The black population is expected to increase 36 percent as against 10 percent for the white population. Hispanic whites, aided by immigration, are expected to increase 62 percent [calculations based on data in Davis, 1982, p. 9]. The results are indicated in Table 17-1.

There are many countries with ethnic birthrate differentials. The dominant ethnic group is usually more prosperous and has a lower birthrate than the subordinate ethnic groups.

TABLE 17-1
RACIAL-ETHNIC PERCENTAGES OF U.S. POPULATION

	1980	2000*	2040*
White (non-Hispanic)	79.9	71.9	59.1
Black	11.7	13.0	14.8
Hispanic	6.4	10.8	18.0
Asian and other	2.1	4.3	8.3

*Assuming net immigration of 1 million per year
Source: Adapted from Leon F. Bouvier and Cary B. Davis, *The Future Racial Composition of the United States*, Demographic Information Services Center, Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C., August 1982.

How accurate can such population forecasts be? What variables, other than immigration, are involved in such forecasts?

This means that subordinate ethnic groups may eventually become the majority and seek greater political power. In the Soviet Union, the Russian mothers average 1.9 births, as compared with 5.8 births for mothers in the four non-Russian Republics in central Asia. In 1970, the armed forces of the Soviet Union were 56 percent Russian, but they will be only 44 percent Russian by the year 2000 [Feshbach, 1982]. The civil war in Lebanon began in part because the Moslems were outbreeding the Christians and demanding greater political power. Thus ethnic birthrate differentials may create political instability and even civil warfare.

Catholics and Population

Most Catholic pronouncements upon population policy acknowledge the existence of a population problem but denounce the most effective methods of birth control. It is often assumed that Roman Catholic teachings are a major obstacle to securing a lowered birthrate. This assumption is valid if one looks at the effect of Catholic influence on government policies. However, if one looks at the birthrates, the situation is more ambiguous. In Europe, the highest birthrate is found in Iceland, which is only 2 percent Catholic, and

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

sterilization in noncommunist countries generally arise from moralistic motives rather than population policy goals, the effects are pronatalist. Thus, recent congressional banning of the use of federal funds for most abortions and recent restrictions upon the sterilizing of welfare clients will have the effect of increasing birthrates among the poor The effects of pronatal policies on birthrates are difficult to measure. Some demographers suspect that the principal effect is to speed up first and second births without much effect upon the eventual size of the family

Antinatal Policies

Governments may try to limit population growth by (1) providing facilities for contraception, abortion, and sterilization and encouraging their use; and (2) providing penalties for large families, and, less frequently, rewards for small families. Some would consider that economic development, female emancipation, and reduced economic inequality are antinatalist. These developments probably encourage a preference for smaller families

BIRTH CONTROL FACILITIES. For many years birth control propaganda and the provision of clinics was promoted primarily by private agencies such as the Planned Parenthood Federation, which is still highly active. In recent years population control has been accepted by the United Nations and by most of the world's countries as a proper governmental concern [Salas, 1976]

Birth control clinics were usually initiated on a tentative, timid basis with a heavy medical emphasis and with little realistic effort to reach the less educated portions of the population. Often they did not provide sterilization or abortion, and sometimes their contraceptive services were limited as well. Usually they quickly reached the better-educated people but had difficulty in communicating effectively with the uneducated. The development of "the pill" was a boon to these agencies, since it was both simpler and more effective than most other contraceptive methods. With experience, the agencies became more effective both in communication and in their understanding of contraceptive methods

BIRTH CONTROL POLICIES It soon became apparent that it was not enough to provide people with the means to limit the size of their families. Just as crucial is the matter of motivation. If people desire large families, then no method of birth control will have much appeal. Further, even skillful propaganda may be ineffective against the traditional belief that many children are a proof of masculinity or femininity, a cheap family labor force, and insurance against poverty and isolation in old age. Presumably, these attitudes would change as countries became

CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE BIRTH RATE

In Zimbabwe's tribal, traditional society everyone needs children. A woman needs children to support her if her husband dies or deserts, she hasn't any property rights of her own, not even her clothes. A man needs children to stake his claim to a farm; the chiefs allocate tribal lands only to men with families. And everyone needs children to look after his spirit when he is dead, a spirit not properly attended will wander homeless in Zimbabwe, a sad fate indeed.

Jane Kronholz, "African Healing Arts Treat Sadness of Ills, an Ache in the Heart," *Wall Street Journal*, July 29, 1982, p. 1

Is the promotion of birth control in developing countries primarily a medical or a cultural problem?

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

f the anonymity New York grants us is a problem it is also a blessing In small towns it is natural and easy to be passing friendly with everyone nearby and in small towns it works But n New York there are too many people nearby Just try to imagine walking down Madison Avenue and being friendly to everyone you meet there! Not only would you never get where you were going but you would be making a nuisance of yourself to thousands of people with their own errands to run. The very multitude of people makes it necessary for us to stare through and beyond one another

were I living in an apartment house, I would not care to know who lives above me be low me, or in the next apartment on either side I want to choose my friends I do not care to have them thrust upon me by the rental agent And I do not want people dropping in to borrow whatever people borrow nor to chitchat whatever neighbors chitchat

It can be lonely at times inside that anonymity but let a small-town friendliness echo through those canyons and the future would be chaos forever bumper to bumper and nose to nose from here to infinity

(John Ciardi. "Manner of Speaking," *Saturday Review* Feb 12. 1966. pp. 16–17)

The social life people lead is affected by the kind of community in which they live. The community is as old as humanity—or even older, for our subhuman ancestors probably shared a community life. A community can be defined either as a human group (town, city, village) or as a body of sentiment (sense of commitment, loyalty) [Gottschalk, 1975, p. 18], but there is no uniformity in the use of the term. One widely quoted definition reads: *A community is a local grouping within which people carry out a full round of life activities.* Defined in greater detail [Hillery, 1955; Jonassen, 1959, p. 20; Willis, 1977], a community includes (1) a grouping of people, (2) within a geographic area, (3) with a division of labor into specialized and interdependent functions, (4) with a common culture and a social system which organizes their activities, (5) whose members are conscious of their unity and of belonging to the community, and (6) whose members can act collectively in an organized manner For it to qualify as a true community, its members would need to experience all or nearly all of the culture within the community's boundaries.

This definition, however, is not uniformly followed. The term is also applied to hamlets and villages with only a small cluster of houses and may be used to describe almost any subculture or category of people, whether geographical (Hickory Corners, New York City) or social (the "black community," the "community of scholars," or the "artistic community"). While sociologists like neat definitions, we must admit that a "community" is any place or category of people that is called a community.

It has been traditional to classify communities as rural or urban, depending upon whether their populations were small and agricultural, or larger and industrial or commercial. The classification was never entirely satisfactory, for it made no provision for the fishing village, the mining camp, the trading post, or many other special types of communities. Modern transportation has so eroded the boundaries between city and country that we actually have a gradual shading of one community into the other and not two distinct types of community

THE RURAL COMMUNITY

The physical and social conditions of urban and rural life are different Consequently there are differences in the personality and behavior of urban and rural people. These differences have provided endless source material for the novelist and the playwright and continue to interest the sociologist

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

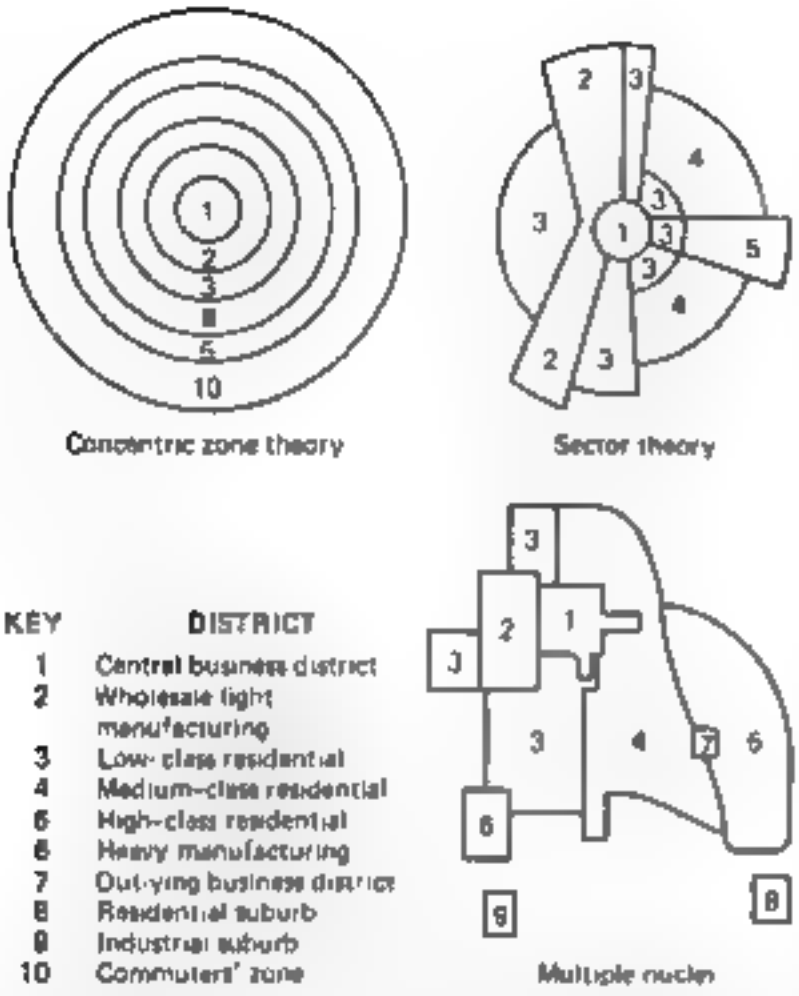


FIGURE 18-5 Three patterns of city structure. Generalizations of internal structure of cities. The concentric zone pattern is a generalization which Burgess proposed as an ideal type to apply more or less perfectly to all cities. The arrangement of the sectors in the sector theory varies from city to city. The diagram for multiple nuclei represents one possible pattern among innumerable variations. (*Source: C. D. Harris and E. L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," The Annals, 242:13, November 1945.*)

Which of these most nearly fits the city you know best?

lands; and the intermediate levels of housing are scattered in between.

The existence of alternative theories shows that none of them is entirely satisfactory. None of them is perfectly illustrated by any American city, and many cities outside the United States will show very little resemblance to any of these patterns, for example, Calcutta stretches for some 35 miles along the Ganges River. Each pattern is an idea which real cities more or less perfectly resemble. Since most American cities do show some resemblance to at least one of these patterns, the theories are helpful in revealing their prevailing structure.

City structure today has been revolutionized by transportation. In most cities the central business district has ceased to expand, and the commercial growth leapfrogs to the suburban shopping centers. A growing ring of decay is left surrounding the business district, as it no longer razes its fringe as it expands. Most of the more prosperous people flee the decay, dirt, and crime of the city for the suburbs, leaving the central city as the main reservoir for the welfare poor. The more affluent suburbs use zoning and building codes for the admitted purpose of preventing the building of low-income housing which might attract the poor [Gist and Fava, 1974, p. 614]. An aging and decaying central city is soon trapped by declining tax sources and mounting tax expenditures. This is the basic reason why nearly every city in the country has suffered a financial crisis [Robertson, 1975; Peterson, 1976; Breckenfeld, 1977; Abrahamson, 1980, chap. 14].

SLUMS A slum is a deteriorated area of the city inhabited by poor people. Most Asian, African, and South American cities have large "shanty" slums on their outskirts as well as many slum areas within these cities. Slums in the United States are generally in the inner-city areas, the "area in transition" in Burgess's concentric zone pattern.

The slum is sometimes pictured as an area totally lacking in social organization. This is incorrect, for there is social organization in the slum [Whyte, 1955; Suttles, 1968; Hunter, 1975; Walter, 1977]. The slum is highly provincial, with people rarely venturing beyond the "turf" of their ethnic group. The overall pattern is one which Suttles calls "ordered segmentation" [pp. 225–227]. Each ethnic group has its boundaries, within which most social relationships are confined and socially controlled. Programs which disrupt these established boundaries therefore weaken the social controls of the area.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

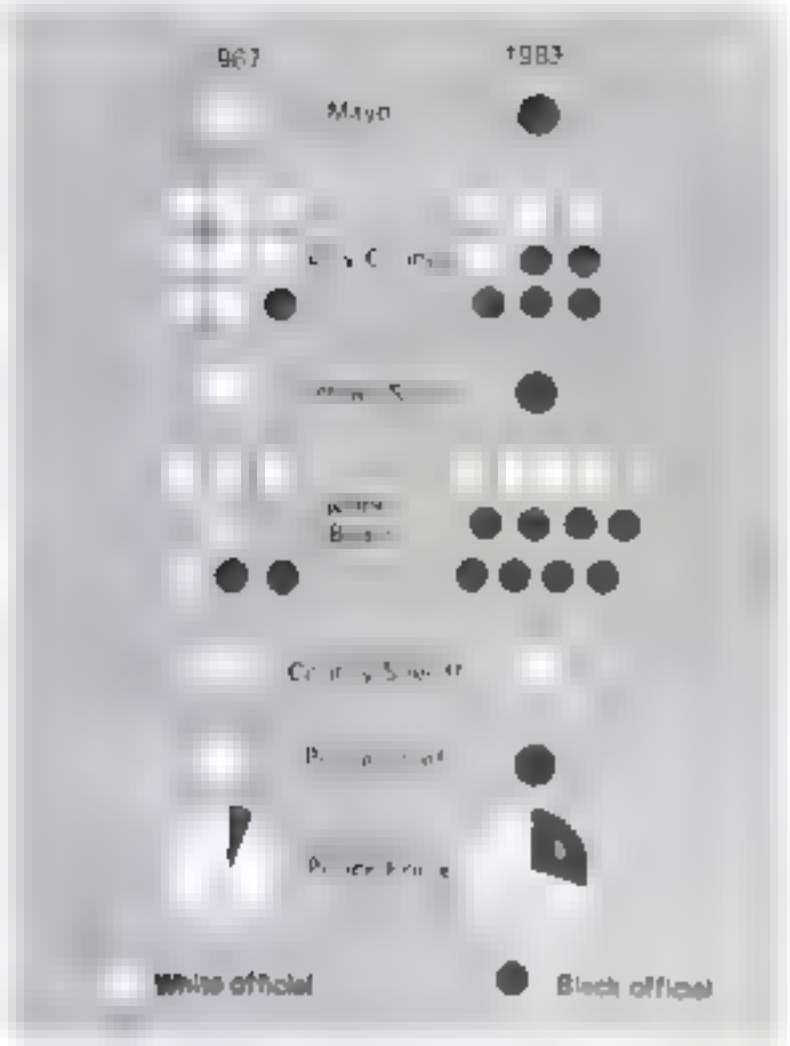


FIGURE 18-6 The changing complexion of Detroit. (*Source:* Personal letter from Office of The Mayor, City of Detroit, March 1983.)

Has this pattern been true of most major cities in the United States?

people and activities change are known as *ecological processes*. To understand them we must begin with the *natural area*, a collection of people and activities which are drawn together in mutual interdependence within a limited area. The district of flophouses and cheap hotels, cheap restaurants, pawn shops, pornography shops, taverns, and missions, all catering to the needs of low-income homeless men and women, is an example of a natural area. Other natural areas include the department-store section (formerly; most have now moved to the shopping centers), the entertainment area, the communities of recent immigrants, the rooming-house district, the college students' residential area, the warehouse district, and many others. Natural areas are unplanned. They arise from the free choices of individuals. Persons having similar needs and preferences are drawn together into an area where these are most easily fulfilled, and this creates a natural area

The *neighborhood*, unlike the natural area, may be either planned or unplanned. A neighborhood is an area where people neighbor, and not all areas are neighborhoods. There is very little neighboring in some areas, such as the rooming-house district, and more neighboring in the ethnic communities and family-residence areas. Some urban neighborhoods are consciously planned, with housing, communication, shopping, and recreation facilities deliberately arranged to encourage neighboring. More often the neighborhood is an unplanned product of people's need for social relations. Neighboring is greatest in family-residence areas where people face common problems of child rearing and crabgrass fighting. Neighborhoods and natural areas are constantly being formed, dissolved, and relocated through the urban ecological processes of *concentration, centralization, decentralization, segregation, invasion,* and *succession*

Concentration is the tendency for people and activities to gather where conditions are favorable. It produces the growth of cities. *Centralization* is the clustering together of the economic and service functions within the city. People come together to work, to play, to shop; then they return to other areas to live. The shopping district; the factory district, and the entertainment district are empty of people for a part of each day or night. The central business district is a prime example of centralization. *Decentralization* is the tendency of people and organizations to desert the center of the city for outlying areas where congestion is less and land values are lower. The automobile and motor truck and electric power have greatly encouraged residential, commercial, and industrial decentralization—a tendency which greatly complicates the task of anyone who seeks to diagram the pattern of the city.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

19 Collective Behavior and Social Movements

NATURE OF COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR
CROWD BEHAVIOR
Contagion Theory
Convergence Theory
Emergent Norm Theory
Limitations on Crowd Behavior
Some Forms of Crowd Behavior
MASS BEHAVIOR
The Rumor
The Fad or Fashion
The Craze
Mass Hysteria
Disaster Behavior
PUBLICS AND PUBLIC OPINION
Measurement of Public Opinion
Manipulation of Public Opinion
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
Theories of Social Movements
Kinds of Social Movements
Life Cycles of Social Movements
SUMMARY
GLOSSARY
QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS
SUGGESTED READINGS

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

movie, radio, or television audience, the stimuli are entirely one-way. Every instructor, however, realizes that a performer before a "live" audience is affected by the audience reaction. An unresponsive audience will take the sparkle out of almost any sermon, lecture, or nightclub performance.

With an audience, then, there may be significant two-way stimulus and response, even though the audience situation discourages the communication. The most successful performers cultivate a two-way communication which seems to make the performer a part of the group [Berger, 1971]. There is also a certain amount of communication between members, as they cheer, applaud, boo, whisper, mutter, doze, or snore. Social contagion still operates, usually at a more subdued level than in other crowds—highly subdued at a sedate church service, more freely expressive at a political rally or a sports event. Audiences may become unruly and may even become riotous.

THE RIOT. A *riot* is *the action of a violently aggressive, destructive crowd*. It may be a religious riot, like that between the Hindus and the Moslems in India in 1947 [Duncan, 1947; McGinty, 1947] or between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. It may be a nationality riot, like that between American servicemen and Mexicans in Los Angeles in 1943, or the so-called "zoot-suit" riot [Turner and Surace, 1956], or the many mob actions against European immigrants in the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries [Higham, 1955]. Race, religion, or nationality—no matter what the cause, the crowd behavior is much the same. A group is disliked because it is different; or it serves as a convenient scapegoat, or it is hated because it competes too successfully. With suitable stimulating incidents and without effective police discouragement, persons who are individually frustrated and insecure start action, it builds and grows; the attacked group strikes back, and the riot is under way.

Civic officials sometimes blame a riot upon "outside agitators" or "communist conspirators." By implication, this denies the importance of underlying grievances or of community failure to deal with them. But numerous riot investigations have found remarkably little evidence of riot planning or riot direction. Most riots are spontaneous outbursts by aggrieved groups reacting to a stimulus incident or rumor [Knopf, 1975, p. 104].

Riots are of many kinds. In the classic race riot, members of two races indiscriminately hunt down and beat or kill one another, as in Chicago in 1919 [Chicago Commission, 1922] or in Detroit in 1943 [Lee and Humphrey, 1943]. One study of many race riots [Lieberson and Silverman, 1965] finds that they were usually precipitated by a report of dramatic violence by one race against the other—rape, murder, assault, police brutality—in a society where race problems have not been—and perhaps cannot be—resolved by existing social institutions, and were most likely to occur in communities that had been unresponsive to black needs and appeals [Downes, 1968].

There are other kinds of riots. The protest riot, common in colonial countries, had the object of dramatizing grievances and wringing concessions from the governing powers. The black riots in many American cities beginning in 1965 were not conventional race riots—not primarily a clash between races—but protest riots. A decade of civil rights "victories" had brought few gains to lower-class blacks, who remained outside the "affluent society." While skilled and educated blacks were gaining, lower-class blacks were falling steadily further behind, growing more frustrated than ever. Usually precipitated by reports of police brutality (often untrue), large-scale violence, burning, and looting exploded across the country [Moynihan, 1965a, Blauner, 1966; Cohen and Murphy, 1966; Rustin, 1967; *Ebony*, special issue, August 1967; National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968, Boskin, 1969; Urban America, Inc.,

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

and manipulate this mass in support of elite interests. Democracies differ from dictatorships in that in democracies different groups among the elite compete vigorously for mass support, whereas in a dictatorship some faction among the elite gains dominance, removes or neutralizes its competitors, and enjoys a monopoly of propaganda

Measurement of Public Opinion

The leaders of a group or a nation cannot lead wisely unless they know which way the people are willing to be led. The public opinion poll is a recent invention for finding out what people are thinking. A poll is simple in concept but difficult to carry out because, as is shown above, an opinion is a rather complicated phenomenon. The pollsters prepare a set of questions on an issue, seeking to phrase the questions in such a way that the wording does not prejudice the informant's answer. Then these questions are offered to a small number of people (from a few hundred to a few thousand) so that each group or class in the total population is represented in the sample in its correct proportion. If all these preliminary arrangements are made without serious error, opinion is measured quite accurately. The Gallup Poll, for example, has predicted the vote on recent elections with an average error of less than 2 percent of the total population vote But there are many pitfalls in public opinion polling which a pollster must guard against in trying to attain this level of accuracy. One of the greatest is the tendency of people to state firm opinions on issues which they know nothing about, have not thought about, and really have no opinion upon. A sample of Hamilton County, Ohio, citizens were asked the question, "Some people say that the 1975 Public Affairs Act should be repealed. Do you agree or disagree with this idea?" One-third of the people stated a firm opinion, which is remarkable, since there was no "1975 Public Affairs Act" [Cory, 1979]

The accuracy of public opinion polls is diluted by such "pseudo-opinions." This error can be reduced by "filter" questions, such as, "Have you heard much about . . .?" [Bishop et al., 1980] Other pitfalls surround the wording of questions, the selection of the sample, and the weighing or interpreting of responses [Parten, 1950; Phillips, 1966, Hennessy, 1970; Sonquist and Dunkelberg, 1977]. Despite their limitations, polls are so important today that a new journal, *Public Opinion*, devoted entirely to presenting and commenting upon opinion polls, made its debut in 1978

Manipulation of Public Opinion

The main emphasis in public opinion research has been upon ways of manipulating public opinion. *Propaganda* includes all efforts to persuade people to a point of view upon an issue; everything from Sunday school lessons to billboards are propaganda; advertising, sales promotion, and fund-raising drives are prime examples.

The usual distinction between education and propaganda is that education seeks to cultivate one's ability to make discriminating judgments, while propaganda seeks to persuade one to the undiscriminating acceptance of a ready-made judgment. In practice, education often includes a good deal of propaganda. Teachers sometimes propagandize for their own opinions; interest groups seek to get their own propaganda, disguised as "educational materials," into the school, society virtually forces the school to propagandize for the approved moral and patriotic values. Conservatives wish the schools to propagandize for the status quo, while Marxists and other radicals insist that teachers should propagandize for the revolution. To draw a clear distinction between education and propaganda is not always possible. And it should be repeated that propaganda is not necessarily "bad"; it is merely a term applied to *all* attempts to influence other peoples' opinions

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Resource mobilization theory does not fit expressive or migratory movements, which can succeed without organization or tactics. Evidence for resource mobilization theory is largely descriptive and is challenged by some scholars [e.g., Goldstone, 1980]. It is likely that societal confusion, personal maladjustment, relative deprivation, discontent, and resource mobilization are all involved in social movements, but in undetermined proportions.

As usual, we have several theories, each plausible, each supported by some evidence, but none clearly proved. Social movements are of so many kinds, with so many variables involved, that possibly no one theory will ever be conclusively established.

Kinds of Social Movements

MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS. Discontented people may wish to move. When many move to the same place at the same time, they create a migratory social movement. Migration of Irish to the United States following the great potato famine, the back-to-Israel movement of the Jews known as Zionism, the flight of the East Germans to West Germany before the Berlin Wall locked them in, the escape of Cuban refugees to the United States, and the American migratory turnaround (from big cities to small towns and country) are examples.

EXPRESSIVE MOVEMENTS When people cannot easily move and cannot easily change things, they may change themselves. In expressive movements, *people change their reactions to reality* instead of trying to change the reality itself. Expressive movements range from the relatively trivial (forms of dance, art, music, dress) to the serious (religious movements, occultism). Expressive movements may help people to accept a reality they despair of changing. "Gallows humor" is common among oppressed peoples. Yet some change may result. The protest songs of the 1960s and early 1970s may have helped to promote some social reforms. In Jamaica, where poverty and inequality are extreme and economic distress has been growing, a music of social protest called reggae has seized the popular imagination. It has created millionaire superstar performers who live the good life while singing impassioned lyrics of anger and injustice [Bradshaw, 1977; DeVoss, 1977; Roberts and Kloss, 1979, pp. 111–113]. It is not yet clear whether reggae serves to arouse and mobilize popular discontent or to drain off discontent into a politically "harmless" emotional outlet

UTOPIAN MOVEMENTS These are attempts to create a perfect society in miniature. Then this model can be copied and perhaps transform the entire society. There have been dozens of utopian communities in the United States, few of which lasted more than a very few years [Gardner, 1978]. Perhaps the most successful utopian movement in recent history is the Israeli kibbutz [Spiro, 1958; Tiger and Shepher, 1975].

REFORM MOVEMENTS These are attempts to improve the society without greatly changing its basic social structure. They are common in democratic societies and rare in societies where dissent is not tolerated. U.S. history shows dozens of reform movements—abolitionists, prohibitionists, feminists, environmentalists, gay liberationists, and many others. Hundreds more would-be reform movements never get past the one-person-with-mailing-list stage.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS. A social revolution is a sudden, sweeping, and usually violent change in a social system. (The "palace revolt" in which the faces change, with no change in the class system or the distribution of power and income among the groups in the society, is not included as a social revolution.) Revolutionists generally oppose reformers because they believe that significant

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Social movements are collective ways of promoting or resisting change. Psychological theories attribute social movement activity to *personal discontents* or to *personal maladjustments* which make people receptive; sociological theories stress *relative deprivation*, when people's expectations outrun their realizations, or *resource mobilization*, with effective organization, tactics, and movement leaders. There are several types of social movements. *migratory movements*, in which people move to a new place; *expressive movements*, in which people change themselves rather than change the society; *utopian movements*, which are efforts to create a perfect society on a small scale; *reform movements*, which seek to correct some imperfections in the society; *revolutionary movements*, which seek to replace the existing system with a new one; and *resistance movements*, which seek to reverse some recent social change. Many movements pass through the stages of *unrest*, *excitement*, *formalization*, *institutionalization*, and *dissolution* in their life cycle.

GLOSSARY

audience a crowd with members' interest centered upon stimuli outside themselves.
collective behavior behavior which originates spontaneously, is relatively unorganized, fairly unpredictable, and depends upon interstimulation between a number of participants.
craze a temporary obsessive interest shared by a number of people
crowd behavior behavior of temporary collection of people reacting together to stimuli, such behavior is brief and episodic
fad a trivial, short-lived, popular variation in speech, decoration, or behavior
fashion a variation in speech, decoration, or behavior, of temporary duration but less trivial or brief than a fad.
mass behavior the unorganized, unstructured, uncoordinated, individually selected behavior of masses in a mass society
mass hysteria an irrational, compulsive belief or behavior which spreads among a number of people.
orgy joyous revelry of a crowd which transgresses normal mores.
panic a collective flight based upon a hysterical belief
propaganda all efforts to persuade others to an acceptance of a point of view
public a number of people who share an interest in a particular topic or activity, or who are concerned about and divided upon an issue
public opinion an opinion held by a significant number of people, the dominant opinion among a population.
riot action of a violently aggressive, destructive crowd
rumor a rapidly spreading report unsubstantiated by fact
social movement a collective effort to promote or resist change

QUESTIONS AND PROJECTS

1 When we say that crowd behavior is "unstructured," what do we mean? Of what importance is its unstructured character?
2 Which has the greater potential for extreme crowd behavior—the class reunion or the family reunion? Why?
3 Why do crowd members seldom feel guilty about their mob actions?
4 Are there any situations in our culture which contain elements of the institutionalized orgy?
5 Should we fully institutionalize the orgy in American society? What benefits might accrue? What difficulties would arise?
6 Why do colleges no longer have student demonstrations as in the 1960s?
7 Do you think you are immune to panic? To crazes? To mass hysteria? What makes you think so?
8 Can you think of any propaganda efforts or causes which have failed in the United States because they conflicted with our cultural values? With prevailing cultural trends?
9 Suppose that a major disaster (fire, flood, explosion)

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

stabilize word meanings and stop language changes but soon confessed that he had failed None of the historic efforts to protect a culture from change or "foreign influences" has succeeded for very long. Social and cultural change is continuous and irresistible Only its speed and direction vary

There is a distinction between *social change*—changes in the social structure and social relationships of a society—and *cultural change*—changes in the culture of a society. Some social changes might include changes in the age distribution, average educational level, or birthrate of a population; or the decline of informality and personal neighborliness as people shift from village to city; or the change in the relationship between workers and employers when unions become organized; or the change of the husband from the boss to a partner in today's democratic family. Cultural changes might include such things as the invention and popularization of the automobile; the addition of new words to our language; changing concepts of propriety and morality; new forms of music, art, or dance; or the general trend toward sex equality. Yet the concepts overlap. The trend toward sex equality involves both a changing set of cultural norms concerning male and female roles and some changing social relationships as well. Nearly all important changes involve both social and cultural aspects. In practice, therefore, the distinction is seldom a very important one, and the two terms are often used interchangeably. Sometimes the term *sociocultural change* is used to include changes of both kinds

There is an important distinction between social change and *progress*. The term "progress" carries a value judgment. Progress means change in a desirable direction. Desirable as measured by whose values? Are taller buildings, higher incomes, or easy divorce and abortion desirable? Not all Americans are agreed. Since progress is an evaluative term, social scientists prefer the neutrally descriptive term "change."

THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Dozens of writers—social scientists, theologians, even novelists—have advanced grand theories of social change. A "grand theory" is a broad, sweeping theory covering some important phenomena over all times and places. We shall outline a few of the more important ones. (Each of the scholars listed was a prolific writer, from whose extensive scholarly writings only a tiny fraction is summarized.)

Evolutionary Theories

All evolutionary theories assume that there is a consistent direction of social change carrying all societies through a similar sequence of stages from the original to the final stage of development. Also, evolutionary theories imply that when the final stage is reached, evolutionary change will end

Auguste Comte (1798–1857), a French scholar sometimes called the founder of sociology, saw societies passing through three stages of growth: (1) the *theological stage*, guided by supernatural wisdom, (2) the *metaphysical stage*, a transitional stage in which supernatural beliefs are replaced by abstract principles as cultural guidelines, and (3) the *positive, or scientific, stage*, in which society is guided by evidence-based scientific laws

Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) was an English scholar who wrote the first book entitled *Principles of Sociology* (1896). Like most scholars of his day, he was excited by Darwin's theories of organic evolution. He saw a parallel social evolution, with societies moving through a series of stages from homogeneous and simple tribal groups to complex modern societies. He applied Darwin's "survival of the fittest" to human societies, where he felt that the struggle for survival rewarded the talented and energetic and eliminated the lazy and unfit. This view came to be called "social Darwinism," and was eagerly embraced by the affluent.

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

perceive "Needs" are subjective; they are real if people feel that they are real. In many underdeveloped and malnourished parts of the world, people not only have objective needs for *more* food, they also need *different* foods, especially vegetables and legumes. Agricultural changes which bring *more* food are more readily accepted than those bringing *different* foods, for which they feel no need [Arensberg and Niehoff, 1971, p. 155]. Until people feel a need, they resist change; only the perceived needs of a society count.

Some practical inventions languish until the society discovers a need for them. The zipper fastener was invented in 1891 but ignored for a quarter century. The pneumatic tire was invented and patented by Thompson in 1845 but was ignored until the popularity of the bicycle created an awareness of need for it; then it was reinvented by Dunlop in 1888

It is often stated that changing conditions create new needs—genuine, objective needs not just subjectively "felt" needs. Thus, urbanization created a need for sanitary engineering, the modern factory system created a need for labor unions; and the high-speed automobile created a need for superhighways. A culture is integrated, and, therefore, changes in one part of the culture create a need for adaptive changes in related parts of the culture

It is doubtless true that failure to recognize an objective need may have unpleasant consequences. For centuries, sickness and death were the price of our ancestors' failure to recognize that urban growth made sewers necessary. A more recent failure to recognize that death control creates a need for birth control has brought half the world to the brink of starvation. All this does not alter the fact that it is only those "needs" which are perceived as needs which stimulate innovation and social change

The concept of perceived need as herein outlined is largely a functionalist concept. Functionalists see many "needs" as objective realities growing from survival necessities and from the constant development of new technology. Conflict theorists would reply that a majority of our "needs" are perceived as a result of skillful promotion by those who profit from creating and then meeting them. Thus we "need" new gadgets because they are cleverly advertised, and we "need" trillions for defense because the military-industrial complex finds it profitable in money and power to promote war scares and international tensions. The disagreement is one of emphasis. Both functionalists and conflict theorists agree that some "needs" are created and some are objective necessities.

Necessity, however, is no guarantee that the needed invention or discovery will be made. At present, we perceive that we need cures for cancer and for the common cold, a pollution-free power source, and effective disposal of nuclear wastes. There is no certainty that we shall develop any of these Necessity may be the "mother of invention," but invention also needs a father—a cultural base to provide the necessary knowledge and technique

The Cultural Base

Prehistoric cave dwellers could make exceedingly few material inventions, for they had very little to work with Even the bow and arrow include a number of inventions and techniques—notching the bow ends, tying the bowstring, hafting and pointing the arrow, plus the idea and technique of shooting it. Not until these components were invented was it possible to invent the bow and arrow. By the *cultural base*, we mean *the accumulation of knowledge and technique* available to the inventor. As the cultural base grows, an increasing number of inventions and discoveries become possible. The invention of the geared wheel provided a component which has been used in countless inventions. The discovery of electromagnetism and the invention of the vacuum tube, the transistor, and

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

THE UNANTICIPATED CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE

Traditionally in Kenya, a man had no sex relations with his wife for four or five years while she nursed their baby. He either lived with another wife or returned to his family. And for a woman to have another child after her first child had married was scandalous. Thus most wives had four or five children, spaced about five years apart.

Christian missionaries, seeking to end polygamy, encouraged men to remain living with their nursing wives. This failed to end polygamy, for about a third of all marriages are still polygamous. But wives now bear children less than three years apart, for an average of more than eight children each. Together with other changes, this now gives Kenya the most rapid rate of population growth in the world, doubling in just 18 years.

Adapted from *The Wall Street Journal*, April 11, 1963, pp. 1, 18.

Have other change agents been more successful than missionaries in anticipating the consequences of change?

vetus were burned at the stake, while Luther and Wycliffe narrowly escaped. Florence Nightingale fought against family opposition, public ridicule and scorn, and official jealousy, intrigue, and slander in her efforts to change the image of nurse from slattern to professional. The actions for which Jane Adams was persecuted and reviled in her youth brought her showers of honors in her old age. Change agents are likely to be honored only when they are very old or very dead.

THE DEVIANT AS CHANGE AGENT Many change agents are deviants of some sort. The nonconformist may unwittingly launch a new fashion, speech form, or dance step. Inventors are people who love to tinker; they are more excited by the challenge of a new idea than by the possibility of riches [Barnett, 1953, pp. 150–156]. Social reformers are necessarily people who are disenchanted with some aspect of the status quo. Without deviants, there would be many fewer social changes.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE

Social Effects of Discovery and Invention

No social change leaves the rest of the culture entirely unaffected. Even an "additive" innovation draws time and interest away from other elements of the culture. Some innovations are shattering in their impact. When the Europeans passed out steel axes to the Yir Yoront of Australia, the gift appeared to be an innocuous gesture, but the stone ax was so tightly integrated into the culture that a chain reaction of disruption spread through the social structure [Sharp, 1952]. The stone ax was a symbol of adult masculinity. It might be lent to women and to youths, and the lines of ax borrowing were very important features of the social organization. When superior steel axes were passed out indiscriminately and owned by women and youths, the symbol of authority was so undermined that authority itself became clouded, relations were confused, and reciprocal obligations became uncertain. The stone for the axes was quarried far to the south and traded northward along trade routes through an established system of trading partners, who also shared in important ceremonials. With the substitution of the steel ax, trading relationships languished, and this rich ceremonial sharing was lost. Deep and serious disturbance of Yir Yoront culture is traced to the single innovation of the steel ax. The illustration is dramatic; but have the effects of the automobile or the radio upon American culture been less far-reaching? Ogburn [1933, pp. 153–156] compiled a list of 150 social changes which he attributes to the radio, while Pool has collected a series of essays which attribute to the telephone conse-

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

tasks which few of our grandfathers would have guessed it would ever assume. Although the traditional informal controls of the gemeinschaft society are failing to regulate the behavior of individuals in this impersonal urban world of ours, we are still hunting for effective substitutes.

A popular writer [Toffler, 1970] has given the term "future shock" to the stresses and anxieties provoked by rapid change. Recent research provides some support for the thesis that stress and anxiety are linked with the perceived rate of change [Lauer, 1974]. Some social scientists are doubtful that we shall make the changes necessary to grapple with such problems as the population explosion, pollution, and resource exhaustion. They fear that civilization may collapse in depression, famine, pestilence, warfare, and chaos [Heilbroner, 1974; Laqueur, 1974; Catton, 1980]. Such pessimism is far from new. The fifteenth century, for example, was an epoch of profound pessimism [Huizinga, 1924, p. 22]. Time will tell whether today's "men of good fear" are any more correct.

SOCIAL PLANNING: CAN CHANGE BE DIRECTED?

Is it possible to predict and control the direction of social change? To do this demands that we know what changes are going to take place. All of the major changes of the 1960s—the New Left, the youth counterculture, the black nationalist movement, the new feminist movement—caught most social scientists by surprise. Most attempts to predict future change are little more than projections of recent trends into the future. By this technique, one could have predicted two centuries ago that today's streets would be hip-deep in horse manure and that today's American population would exceed a billion people. Obviously, by projecting recent trends, we cannot accurately predict the future. One scholar [Rosen, 1976] has published a book carrying the confident title, *Future Facts: A Forecast of the World as We Will Know It Before the End of the Century*, and a magazine called *The Futurist* carries many forecasts. But most social scientists are more modest. Some feel that social change is caused by social forces beyond our effective control [Sorokin, 1941, 1948; Lapiere, 1965]. For example, when the necessary supporting knowledge is developed, an invention will be made by someone, even if this invention is most troublesome to human existence. The hydrogen bomb is an example. Although we fear it may destroy us, we go on advancing it because others will do so anyway. Could the Indian wars possibly have been avoided? The Indians had land the settlers wanted for a growing population, and their advance was certain to destroy the Indian's way of life. The many brutal episodes were merely the symptoms, not the cause, of a conflict which was unavoidable, given these groups with their respective needs and cultural backgrounds. Practically any great social change can be thus described in terms of blind social forces, so that we conclude that what *did* happen was about the only thing that *could* happen in that situation.

Some social scientists, however, believe that we *can* exert *some* influence over the course of social change [Mannheim, 1949; Bottomore, 1962, pp. 283–284, Horowitz, 1966]. Social planning is an attempt at the intelligent direction of social change [Riemer, 1947, Adams, 1950; Gross, 1967; Bennis et al., 1969, chap. 1; Kahn, 1969; Havelock, 1973; Friedmann, 1973; Gil, 1973; Kramer and Specht, 1975]. But just how the conflicting wishes of different publics are to be reconciled remains a perplexing problem.

Elite direction of social planning is characteristic of communist societies. Decision making has been highly centralized, and plans have been exceedingly intricate and detailed. Planning which attempts to program practically all the activities of a society is less successful than planning that is limited to only one, or a small number, of activities or

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Family A kinship grouping which provides for the rearing of children and for certain other human needs.

Fascist society An authoritarian society ruled by a dictator stressing nationalism; e.g., Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy, and Franco's Spain.

Fashion A variation in speech, decoration, or behavior, of temporary duration but less trivial or brief than a fad.

Fecundity Biological capacity to reproduce

Feral children Children supposedly reared apart from human beings and therefore unsocialized.

Fertility Actual rate of reproduction

Feudal society A society based upon the mutual obligations between a landowning nobility and the other social classes; e.g., tenth-to-seventeenth century Europe, and China and Japan until recent times

Folkways Customary, normal, habitual behavior characteristics of the members of the group.

Functionalist perspective View of society as an organized network of cooperating groups, tending toward consensus and stability

Fundamentalists Those who stress the importance of religious beliefs they regard as "fundamental," including the virgin birth of Christ, the physical resurrection of Jesus, and the accuracy of the Scriptures in every detail

Gemeinschaft A society in which most relationships are either personal or traditional

Gender Often used interchangeably with sex, although some scholars distinguish between sex and gender, with sex being the biological part and gender the socially learned part of sexuality and sex roles.

Generalized other The totality of values and standards of one's community or one's social group, whose judgments one applies to one's own behavior in forming the concept of self

Genocide A deliberate effort to eliminate an ethnic group by slaughter, expulsion, or destruction of the group's cultural heritage.

Gentrification Renovation of decaying urban areas for occupancy by middle- or upper-class residents.

Gesellschaft A society based on contractual as contrasted with traditional relationships

Glossolalia Speaking in tongues; a religious experience in which one speaks syllables which form no known language

Group Any number of persons who share a consciousness of membership and of interaction; often used incorrectly to denote aggregation, collectivity, or category.

Group deviant One who conforms to the norms of a deviant group or subculture

Group dynamics The interaction within small groups.

Hominids One of the species consisting of early humans and/or their ancestors.

Homosexual A term applied to persons with a strong preference for sex partners of the same sex and to persons who, regardless of sex preference, engage in sex relations with a person of the same sex

Hypothesis Tentative, unverified statement of the possible relationship of known facts; a reasonable proposition worthy of scientific testing.

Identity crisis For Erikson, one of eight major turning points in life when important directions in personality development are taken. Popularly applied to any period of uncertainty

Ideology A system of ideas which sanctions a set of norms

Impressionistic study One which is a systematic collection of the investigator's impressions, without using measuring instruments, control groups, collections of statistics, or other more formal procedures

Income redistribution Adjusting taxes and tax-supported benefits unequally in order to reduce inequalities in income

Individual deviant One who deviates from the norms of the subcultures he or she shares.

In-group A group or category toward which one has a feeling of identity or belonging.

Instinct An inborn behavior pattern characteristic of all members of the species

Institution An organized cluster of folkways and mores centered around a major human activity; organized system of social relationships which embodies certain common values and procedures and meets certain basic needs of society

Integration Process of developing a society in which all racial and ethnic groups can share equally in the cultural and economic life

Intellectual One whose work is dealing mainly with ideas

Interactionist perspective The view of society that concentrates upon the interaction between persons and groups.

Internalize To learn something so thoroughly

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Alt, Herschel, and Edith Alt: *Russia's Children*, Bookman Associates, Inc., New York, 1959

Amalrik, Andrei: *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1969

Amneus, Daniel: *Back to Patriarchy*, Arlington House Publishers, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1979

Anderson, Charles H. *The Political Economy of Social Class*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974.

Anderson, Raymond H.: "Soviet Urban Sprawl Defies Official Efforts to Curb the Growth of Cities," *The New York Times*, Nov. 13, 1966, p. 122

Apodaca, Anadeto: "Corn and Custom: The Introduction of Hybrid Corn to Spanish American Farmers in New Mexico," in Edward H. Spicer (ed.), *Human Problems in Technological Change*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1952, pp. 35–39

Appelbaum, Richard P.: *Theories of Social Change*, Markham Publishing Company, Chicago, 1970.

Appelbaum, Ronald L., et al.: *The Process of Group Communication*, Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago, 1979

Apple, Michael W. *Ideology and Curriculum*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., New York, 1979.

Andrey, Robert: *The Territorial Imperative*, Atheneum Publishers, New York, 1966.

Arens, Richard: *Genocide in Paraguay*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1976

Arensberg, Conrad M., and Arthur M. Niehoff: *Introducing Social Change: A Manual for Community Development*, Aldine-Atherton, Inc., Chicago, 1971

Argyris, Chris: "We Must Make Work Worthwhile," *Life*, May 5, 1967, pp. 56ff

Armbruster, Frank E. "The More We Spend, the Less Children Learn," *The New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 28, 1977, pp. 9ff

Armor, David J.: "The Evidence on Busing," *The Public Interest*, 28:90–126, Summer 1972.

Aron, Raymond, in collaboration with Jessie Bernard, T. H. Pear, Raymond Aron, and Robert C. Angell: *The Nature of Conflict*, International Sociological Association, UNESCO, Paris, 1957

Asch, S. E.: "Effects of Group Pressure Upon the Modification of Judgments," in Heinz Guetzkow (ed.): *Groups, Leadership, and Men*, U.S. Office of Naval Research, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, 1951

Ashwood, Thomas M. "The Airline Response to Terrorism," in Yonah Alexander and Robert A. Kilmarx (ed.), *Political Terrorism and Business. The Threat and the Response*, Praeger Publishers, Inc., New York, 1979, pp. 129–139

Atchley, Robert C. *The Social Forces in Later Life: An Introduction to Social Gerontology*, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., Belmont, Calif., 1980.

Atkinson, L. Jay: *World Population Growth: Analysis and New Projections of the United Nations*, Foreign Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Foreign Agricultural Economic Report 129, Washington, February 1977

Auger, James G., quoted in *Business Week*, April 4, 1983, p. 10.

Auletta, Ken. *The Underclass*, reviewed in *Washington Post*, June 27, 1982.

Babcock, Richard F.: *The Zoning Game: Municipal Practices and Policies*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1966

Bach, Robert L.: "The New Cuban Immigrants: Their Background and Prospects," *Monthly Labor Review*, 103:39–46, October 1980.

Bachman, Jerald B., et al. *Dropping Out—Problem or Symptom*, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1972.

Bailey, Robert, Jr.: "Urban Radicals: Activists in an Alinsky Community Organization," *Growth and Change*, 4:3–9, July 1973

Bailey, William C.: "Inequality in the Legal Order: Some Further Analysis and Commentary," *Social Problems*, 29:51–61, October 1981

Bain, Read: "The Self- and Other-words of a Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, 41:767–776, May 1936.

Baldassare, Mark. "The Effects of Household Density on Subgroups," *American Sociological Review*, 46:110–118, February 1981

Bales, Robert F.: *Interaction Process Analysis: A Method for the Study of Small Groups*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1950.

——— and Fred L. Strodtbeck. "Phases in Group Problem-Solving," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46:485–495, October 1951

Baltes, Paul B.: "Longitudinal and Cross-Sectional Sequences in the Study of Age and Generation Effects," *Human Development*, 11:145–171, no. 1, 1968.

——— and Warner K. Schaie: "Aging and IQ: The Myth of the Twilight Years," *Psychology Today*, March 1974, pp. 35–38ff

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Personal Welfare, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York, 1980.

Eastland, Terry: "In Defense of Religious America," *Commentary*, 71:39–45, June 1981

Ebenstein, William, and Edwin Fogelman: *Today's Isms*, 8th ed., Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1980.

Eckholm, Eric: *Planning for the Future: Forestry and Human Needs*, Worldwatch Institute, Washington, 1979

Edgerton, Robert B.: *Deviance: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Cummings Publishing Company, Menlo Park, Calif., 1976.

Edwards, Allen A.: "Types of Rural Communities," in Marvin B. Sussman (ed.), *Community Structure and Analysis*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1959

Edwards, John N., and Alan Booth: "Crowding and Human Sexual Behavior," *Social Forces*, 55:791–808, March 1977

Edwards, Laura E., et al.: "Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Services in High School Clinics," *Family Planning Services*, 12:6–14, January/February 1890

Edwards, Lyford P.: *The Natural History of Revolution*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927

Efron, Edith: "So This Is Adversary Journalism," *TV Guide*, Jan. 18, 1975, pp. 5–6.

Eggan, Dorothy: "The General Problem of Hopi Adjustment," *American Anthropologist*, 45:357–373, July 1943

Erlich, Paul, and Anne H. Ehrlich: *Population, Resources, Environment: Issues in Human Ecology*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970.

Eisenstein, Zillah: "Constructing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism," *The Insurgent Sociologist*, Summer 1977, pp. 3–17

Ekman, Paul, and Wallace V. Friesen: "Detecting Deception from the Body or Face," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 19:288–297, March 1974.

Ellis, Evelyn: "Social Psychological Correlates of Upward Social Mobility among Unmarried Career Women," *American Sociological Review*, 17:588–563, October 1952.

Elwin, Varrier: *The Baiga*, John Murray (Publishers), Ltd., London, 1939.

Epps, Edgar G.: "Minority Children: Desegregation, Self-Evaluation, and Achievement Orientation," in Willis D. Hawley (ed.), *Effective School Desegregation: Equity, Quality and Feasibility*, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, Calif., 1981, pp. 85–106.

Erber, Ernest (ed.): *Urban Planning in Transition*, Grossman Publishers, New York, 1970.

Erikson, Erik: *Childhood and Society*, 2nd ed., W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1963

——— *Youth and Crisis*, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1968.

Erikson, Kai T.: *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1966.

——— *Everything in Its Path: Destruction of Community in the Buffalo Creek Flood*, Simon & Schuster, Inc., New York, 1976.

Erskine, Hazel, "The Polls: Pacifism and the Generation Gap," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:616–627, Winter 1972–1973.

Etzioni, Amitai: Quoted in John Leo, "The Hollowing of America," *Time*, 118:85, Dec. 20, 1982

Eulau, Hans: "Identification with Class and Political Role Behavior," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 20:515–529, Fall 1956.

Evans, Sue L., et al., "Failure to Thrive: A Study of 45 Children and Their Families," *Journal of Child Psychiatry*, 11:440–457, July 1972.

Fanfani, Amintore: *Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism*, Sheed & Ward, Inc., New York, 1955.

Farb, Peter: *Man's Rise to Civilization as Shown by the American Indians from Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State*, E. P. Dutton, Inc., New York, 1968.

Farley, Reynolds: "The Changing Distribution of Negroes Within Metropolitan Areas: The Emergence of Black Suburbs," *American Journal of Sociology*, 75:512–529, January 1970.

———, Toni Richards, and Clarence Wurdock: "School Desegregation and White Flight: An Investigation of Competing Models and Their Discrepant Findings," *Sociology of Education*, 53:123–139, July 1980

Farnsworth, Beatrice: *Aleksandra Kollontai: Socialism, Feminism, and the Bolshevik Revolution*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., 1980.

Farrell, Warren: *The Liberated Male: Beyond Masculinity: Freeing Men and Their Relationship With Women*, Random House, Inc., New York, 1975

Farrell, William C.: " 'New Towns' Facing Growing

You have either reached a page that is unavailable for viewing or reached your viewing limit for this book

Name Index

Abbott, Andrew, 128
Abbott, Walter F., 455
Abell, George O., 9
Abrahamson, Mark, 457, 475
Abrams, Charles, 461, 464
Abt, Clark C., 35
Adams, E. M., 537
Adams, Jane, 531
Adams, John B., 263
Adams, Margaret, 246
Adams, Samuel Hopkins, 46
Adelson, Joseph, 150
Adorno, T. W., 72, 393
Ageton, Suzanne, 175
Aikman, Leo, 524
Akers, Ronald L., 177
Alatas, Seyd Hussein, 530
Alba, Richard D., 293, 312
Albert, Ethel M., 85
Albrecht, Milton C., 229
Aldrich, Howard E., 483
Alexander, Charles C., 503
Alexander, Leigh, 290
Alexander, Yonah, 334, 335
Alger, Horatio, 369, 370
Alinsky, Saul D., 331
Allen, Francis R., 517
Allen, James B , 453
Allport, Floyd H., 478
Allport, Gordon W., 482, 492
Alspach, Steven, 151
Alston, Jon P., 277
Alt, Edith, 239
Alt, Herschel, 239
Amalrik, Andrei, 328
Amdur, Neil, 386
Amneus, Daniel, 151
Anderson, Charles H , 174, 330
Anderson, Raymond H., 461
Anthony, Dick, 283
Apodaca, Anadeto, 524
Appelbaum, Richard P., 54
Appelbaum, Ronald L., 202
Appelman, Philip, 444
Apple, Michael W., 307
Ardrey, Robert, 55
Arens, Richard, 395
Arens, W , 78, 209
Arensberg, Conrad M., 522, 527, 530
Argyris, Chris, 165
Aristotle, 344
Armbruster, Frank E., 306
Armor, David J., 399
Aron, Raymond, 17
Asch, S. E., 159
Ash, Roberta, 504
Ashe, Arthur, 386
Ashwood, Thomas M., 335
Atchley, Robert C., 111
Athos, Anthony G., 189
Atkinson, L. Jay, 432
Auger, James G., 141
Auletta, Ken, 246, 386, 409, 471
Austen, Jane, 367

Babcock, Richard F., 464
Bach, Robert L., 403
Bachman, Jerald B , 296, 376
Back, Kurt W , 495
Bahr, Howard M., 46, 353
Bailey, William C., 36, 177, 331
Bain, Read, 89
Bainbridge, William Sims, 269, 271, 283, 288
Baldassare, Mark, 466
Bales, Robert F , 201, 202

Baltes, Paul B., 28
Bane, Mary Jo, 259, 262
Banfield, Edward C., 312, 359
Banks, Curtis, 128
Banks, Joseph, 501
Banks, Olive, 306
Banton, Michael P , 394
Bar, Michael, 83
Barash, David P , 78
Barber, Bernard, 494
Barber, Theodore X., 9
Barer, Naomi, 458
Barnett, David L., 319, 322, 339
Barton, Allen H., 181, 496
Bascom, William R., 536, 540
Bassis, Michael S., 91
Basu, Asake, 244, 355
Bates, Alan P., 46
Bates, Robert H., 534
Bauer, Peter, 530
Bavelas, Alex, 201, 202
Baxter, Sandra, 137
Bay, Christian, 334
Bayley, David H., 177
Beach, Frank A., 132–134, 153
Beagle, J. Allan, 530
Bean, Frank D., 362
Becker, Howard S., 38, 41, 168, 174, 181
Becker, John, 493
Becker, Tamar, 208
Beckley, Robert E., 367
Beckman, Leonard, 166
Beeghley, Leonard, 380
Begjis, Jeanne F., 100
Behrens, Steve, 436
Belin, Daniel W., 492
Bell, Alan P., 135
Bell, Colin, 22
Bell, Daniel, 39, 328
Bell, J. Bowyer, 335
Bell, Marilyn J., 128
Bell, Robert R., 467
Bellah, Robert N., 65, 267, 287
Belous, Richard S., 263
Bem, Sandra Lipsitz, 150
Benbow, Camilla Perrson, 137
Bender, Eugene L, 206, 209
Beneduct, Ruth, 84, 103, 116
Bengtson, Vern L., 92
Bennett, William J., 330
Bennis, Warren G., 537
Berelson, Bernard, 29, 430, 434, 441
Beres, Louis René, 335
Berg, Ivar, 291, 307
Berger, Bennett M., 487
Berger, Peter L., 16, 177, 287, 330, 363, 366, 367
Bergström, Staffén, 436
Berk, Bernard, 108, 128
Berk, Richard A., 478, 483
Berkman, Lisa F , 199
Berlitz, Charles, 22
Bernstein, Basil, 164
Bernstein, Jeremy, 12
Berreman, Gerard D., 369
Berry, Brian, J L., 454
Berscheid, Ellen, 94
Best, Deborah L., 139
Bettelheim, Bruno, 239
Bettman, Otto, 540
Bickman, Leonard, 108
Biderman, Albert D , 188
Bieber, I., 135
Bierstedt, Robert A., 273
Birch, Herbert G , 240
Bird, Christopher, 7
Bird, Kai, 436
Birdsall, Stephen S., 461
Birnbach, Lisa, 65
Bishop, George F , 498
Bishop, Joseph W , 339
Black, Hal, 73
Blackman, Ann, 281
Blaine, Graham B., Jr., 248, 262
Blakeley, Edward, 475
Blank, Blanche D., 307
Blauner, Robert, 174, 405, 487
Blechman, Elaine A., 244
Blood, Robert O., 140
Bloodworth, Dennis, 222
Bloom, B. S., 203
Blum, David J , 501
Blumberg, Herbert H., 333
Blumberg, Leonard V , 465, 467
Blumberg, Paul, 351, 353, 374
Blumberg, Rhoda Goldstein, 415
Blume, Stuart S., 23
Blumer, Herbert, 16, 393, 479, 493, 504, 507
Blundell, William E., 148, 190
Bogardus, Emory S., 191, 492
Bogue, Donald J., 465
Bohen, Halcyone H., 249
Bok, John, 268

Bollen, Kenneth A., 11
Bolling, Landrum S., 275, 287
Bondestam, Lars, 436
Boorstin, Daniel J., 312
Booth, Alan, 250, 466, 467, 474
Borders, William, 436
Borhani, N. O., 405
Borlaug, Norman, 438
Boskin, Joseph, 487
Bottomore, T. B., 537
Bouma, Donald H., 38
Bouma, Gary D., 265, 273, 288
Bouvier, Leon F., 429, 438
Bovard, Everett W., Jr., 158
Bowles, Samuel, 114, 307, 312
Boyer, L. Bryce, 83
Boyle, Robert, 309
Bradshaw, Jon, 502
Bradshaw, Ted K., 475
Brady, Thomas F., 158
Brand, David, 319
Brandel, Sarah K., 444
Brannon, Robert, 151
Braverman, Harry, 353
Bray, Helen, 146
Brazziel, William F., 71
Brecher, Charles, 471
Breckenfeld, Gurney, 457
Brenner, M. Harvey, 336
Brenton, Myron, 25, 46, 507
Bresler, Robert A., 384
Briggs, B. Bruce, 363, 364
Brill, Harry, 331
Brim, Orville G., 125
Brimmer, Andrew, 411
Brinton, Crane, 501, 503
Brock, Horace W., 437
Bromley, David G., 284
Bronfenbrenner, Urie, 239
Brooks, Richard Oliver, 472
Broom, Leonard, 114, 394
Brown, David L., 461
Brown, George H., 402
Brown, Lester R., 444
Brown, Michael, 507
Brown, Paula, 181
Brown, Robert L., 191
Bruck, Connie, 151
Brunn, Stanley D., 471, 475
Brunner, Edmund de S., 23
Brunvand, Jan Harold, 492, 507
Bruyn, Severyn T., 33, 333, 339
Bryan, Clifford E., 166
Bryan, James H., 128, 181
Brym, Robert J., 221, 229
Buchanan, Patrick, 329
Bucher, G. R., 275
Buckhout, Robert, 34
Buckley, Alan D., 335
Budd, L. S., 31, 32
Bunzel, John H., 141, 149
Bunzel, Ruth, 85
Burchard, Waldo, 120
Burchell, Robert W., 458
Burchinal, Lee G., 450
Burdge, Rabel J., 452
Burger, Amy L., 150
Burgess, Ernest W., 455–457
Burkhart, Lynne C., 472
Burlingame, Roger, 514
Burma, John H., 393
Burr, Aaron, 211
Burstein, Leigh, 306
Burton, Nancy W., 101
Butterfield, Fox, 163, 365

Cain, Pamela S., 317
Caldwell, Erskine, 367
Caldwell, Steven F., 246
Calhoun, John B., 466
Calvin, A. D., 96
Cameron, Paul, 357
Campbell, Angus, 27, 100, 153, 250, 254, 260, 357
Campbell, Arthur, 246
Campbell, Carlos C., 472, 475
Campbell, Donald C., 71
Canfield, Cass, 89
Cannon, Lynn Weber, 353
Cannon, Walter, 186
Cantril, Hadley, 482, 490
Caplow, Theodore, 31, 46, 71, 353
Carden, Maren Lockwood, 142, 153
Carnegie, Dale, 206
Carnoy, Martin, 307
Carns, Donald E., 475
Carpenter, Edwin H., 462
Carroll, J. W., 276
Cartwright, Dorwin, 202
Cary, Charles D., 92
Cash, Thomas F., 94
Cassidy, Robert, 471, 473

Castel, Edgar, 23
Castelli, Jim, 491
Castro, Fidel, 403
Catanese, Anthony J., 473, 475
Catlin, Nancy, 248
Catton, William R., 432, 537
Centers, Richard, 351
Cereseto, Shirley, 433
Chadwick, Bruce A., 46, 353
Chalfant, H. Paul, 367
Chamberlin, Leslie J., 538
Chambliss, William J., 17, 174–176, 363, 378
Chandler, Michael, 97
Chao, Paul, 239
Chapin, F. Stuart, 216
Chappell, Neena L., 145
Charney, Israel W., 394
Chase, Ivan D., 379
Chase, Stuart, 23
Chase-Dunn, Christopher K., 268, 322
Chason, Karen, 248
Che, Wai-Kin, 239
Cherne, Leo, 395
Christensen, Terry, 340
Christenson, James A., 268, 288, 375
Christopher, Milbourne, 23
Chudacoff, Howard P., 471
Church, R. N., 77
Ciardi, John, 446
Clancy, Kevin John, 125
Clapp, James A., 472
Clark, Kenneth B., 412, 415
Clark, Matt, 78
Clark, Robert A., 249
Clark, Thomas A., 462
Clark, Thomas P., 135
Clary, Jack, 166
Clausen, Connie, 65
Clayton, Richard R., 262
Clements, Barbara Evans, 148
Clifton, Rodney A., 306
Clinard, Marshall B., 171, 177, 181, 454
Cloward, Richard A., 205, 330, 331, 387, 483
Clutterbuck, Richard, 333, 334
Coale, Ansley J., 432
Cockerham, William C., 128
Cohen, David K., 399
Cohen, Jerry, 487
Cohen, Marshall, 334
Cohen, Richard A., 475
Cole, Mildred Wiese, 276
Cole, Stewart G., 276
Cole, William E., 111, 128
Coleman, James S., 100, 117, 292, 304, 359
Coleman, Richard P., 346, 369, 371, 373
Colfax, J. David, 41
Collier, John, 400, 535
Colligan, Michael L., 507
Collins, Glenn, 244
Collins, Randall, 17, 114, 291, 295, 300, 312, 339, 366, 367
Comte, Auguste, 14, 15, 54, 266, 267, 511
Concepcion, Mercedes, 436
Condon, Edward U., 495
Conger, D. Stuart, 540
Conger, Rance D., 177
Conley, John A., 35
Connor, Walter D., 365
Converse, Philip E., 27, 249, 260
Cook, Thomas D., 35
Cooley, Charles Horton, 15, 89, 94, 95, 98, 453
Coolidge, Calvin, 486
Cooney, Robert, 333
Cooper, Clare C., 459
Cooper, John L., 114, 223, 483
Copp, James H., 452, 470
Cordasco, Francesco, 403, 404
Corden, Carol, 472
Cornell, George W., 281
Cory, Christopher T., 498
Coser, Lewis A., 17, 169, 219, 223, 229, 251
Cote, William, 165
Couch, Carl J., 478, 480
Coursey, Robert D., 108
Cousins, Norman, 395
Crampton, C. Gregory, 85
Crane, John A., 35
Cresswell, Peter, 472
Crittenden, Ann, 530, 540
Crosbie, Paul V., 202
Crosby, Faye, 150
Cue, Renaldo A., 403
Cuff, E. C., 23
Cullen, John B., 362
Currie, Robert, 278
Curtis, Patricia, 199
Curtis, Richard F., 356
Curtis, Russell L., Jr., 205
Curvin, Robert, 483, 507
Cushing, Frank H., 85

Dadrian, Vahakan, 395
Dahl, Robert A., 328, 329

Dahrendorf, Ralf, 17
Dai, Bingham, 88
Daly, Herman E., 436, 437
D'Amico, Ronald J , 379
Daniels, Lee A., 399, 412
Danoff, Michael N , 399
Danziger, Sheldon, 386
Darden, William R., 494
Darwin, Charles, 54, 511
David, Deborah S , 151
Davies, Christie, 177
Davies, James C., 501
da Vinci, Leonardo, 523
Davis, Alan G., 246, 262
Davis, Allison, 377
Davis, Cary B., 402, 429
Davis, F James, 394
Davis, George, 397
Davis, Keith, 201
Davis, Kingsley, 16, 362
Davis, Nannette J , 181
Davis, Peter, 37
Davis, Shelton H., 518, 540
Dawson, Carl, 504
Deaux, Kay, 145
DeCamp, Catherine C., 16, 23
DeCamp, L. Sprague, 23
Deckard, Sinclair, 142, 148, 149
Dee, William L. J., 458
DeFronzo, James V , 349
Delattre, Edwin J , 330
Deloria, Vine, Jr., 400, 534, 535
De Mandilovitch, Martha S Baldi, 307
Dempewolff, J. A., 142
de Tocqueville, Alexis, 203
Devins, Reva, 250
DeVoss, David, 502
Dewey, Richard, 470
Dichter, Ernest, 331
Dickson, Stewart, 361
Dillman, Don A., 475
Dittes, James E., 159
Djilas, Milovan, 222, 329
Dobson, Richard B., 306, 365, 367
Dollard, John, 28, 478
Domes, Jurgen, 319
Domhoff, G William, 330, 339
Donaldson, Graham F , 530
Dorfman, Lorraine T., 256
Dorn, H. F M , 28
Dornbusch, Sanford M., 96
Doten, Dana, 263
Douglas, Jack D., 42
Douglas, John H., 137
Dowdy, Edwin, 520
Downes, Byron T., 487
Downs, Anthony, 361
Doyle, Richard, 151
Draper, Theodore, 165
Dresen, Sheila, 244
Drinan, Robert F., 376
Drucker, Peter, 151, 319, 339
Druckman, Daniel, 57
Duberman, Lucile, 379, 386
DuBois, Cora, 84
Duncan, Beverly, 146
Duncan, David Douglas, 487
Duncan, Greg, 244
Duncan, Otis D., 146
Duncan, R. Paul, 250
Dunham, Barrows, 23
Dunkelberg, William C., 498
Dunn, Judy, 90
Dunphy, Dexter C., 201
Durant, Will, 273
Durkheim, Émile, 14, 172, 178, 267
Dutton, Diana B , 361
Dynes, Russell R., 46, 496

Easterlin, Richard J., 357, 421, 438
Eastland, Terry, 265, 285
Ebenstein, William, 320, 333
Eckholm, Eric, 431
Edgerton, Robert B., 168, 171, 488
Edison, Thomas A., 515
Edwards, Allen A., 447
Edwards, John N , 466
Edwards, Laura E., 246
Edwards, Lyford P , 503
Efron, Edith, 329
Eggan, Dorothy, 88
Ehrenfeld, David W , 430
Ehrlich, Paul R., 441
Eich, Rich K., 492
Eisenstein, Zillah, 148
Ekman, Paul, 57
Elkin, Frederick, 103
Elliott, Delbert S., 175
Ellis, Evelyn, 372
Ellis, Lee, 78
Elwin, Varrier, 524
Enswiller, Tim, 145
Epps, Edgar G., 399

Erber, Ernest, 461
Erikson, Erik, 98, 100
Erikson, Kai T., 34, 178
Erlich, John L., 530
Erskine, Hazel, 92
Eshelmann, J. Ross, 367
Espiritu, Socorro C., 352
Etzioni, Amitai, 78, 260
Eulau, Hans, 350
Evans, Bergen, 23
Evans, Christopher, 23
Evans, Sue L., 240, 472
Evarts, A. Graham, 28
Eysenck, Hans J., 103

Falwell, Rev. Jerry, 477
Fanfani, Amitore, 273
Farb, Peter, 68, 265, 315, 316
Farber, Susan, 103
Farley, Reynolds, 462
Farnsworth, Beatrice, 148
Farrell, James T., 367
Farrell, Ronald A., 181
Farrell, Warren, 151
Farrell, William C., 472
Fast, Julius, 57
Fava, Sylvia Fleis, 457
Feagin, Joe R., 401, 402
Featherman, David L., 141, 307, 379
Feinberg, Susan, 294, 312
Feinberg, William E., 300, 313
Feldstein, Martin S., 327, 385
Ferencz, B. B., 334
Ferman, Louis A., 199
Fernandez, Richard, 540
Fernandez, Roberto M., 357
Fernandez, Ronald, 259
Ferree, Myra Marx, 32, 250
Ferrell, Mary Zey, 329
Feshbach, Murray, 429
Festinger, L., 479
Fetterman, John, 460
Feuer, Lewis S., 488
Fierabend, Ivo, 534
Fierabend, Rosalind L., 534
Fine, Gary Alan, 492
Finger, Seymour Maxwell, 334
Finkelhor, David, 263
Finlayson, Douglas, 306
Finnie, William C., 166
First, Elsa, 7
Fischer, Claude S., 205, 466, 467, 470, 475
Fischer, Kathleen B., 306
Fischer-Galati, Stephen, 320
Fish, John Hall, 332
Fisher, B. Aubrey, 196, 202, 208
Fisher, Seymour, 98
Fisk, Norman M., 141
Fleetwood, Blake, 460
Flippen, Carles C., 267
Flugel, J. C., 493
Flynn, James R., 406
Fogelman, Edwin, 320, 333
Fogelson, Robert E., 483
Foley, Donald L., 464
Folsom, Joseph K., 263
Ford, Brian J., 133
Ford, Clellan S., 132–134, 153
Ford, Henry, 309
Foreman, Grant, 535
Foreman, Paul B., 490
Forgey, Donald G., 110
Form, William, 181
Fortune, R. F., 84
Fosberg, F. R., 430
Fosberg, Lacey, 246, 263
Foss, Daniel A., 287
Fossum, Donna, 379
Fowlkes, Martha R., 250
Fox, Richard G., 171
Francis, R. L., 307
Frankel, Charles, 78
Frazier, Kendrick, 495
Fredericks, Robert W., 38
Frederick, Otto, 260
Freedman, Anne, 204, 209
Freedman, Jonathan L., 263, 466
Freeman, Howard E., 46
Freeman, M. D. A., 257
Freeman, Richard B., 406
Freilich, Morris, 251
Frese, Wolfgang, 34, 47
Freud, Sigmund, 87, 88, 98, 478
Friday, Paul C., 177
Friedan, Betty, 142, 386
Friedman, J., 540
Friedman, Jonathan, 250
Friedman, Milton, 327
Friedmann, John, 537
Friedrich, Carl J., 287
Friedrichs, Jurgen, 33

Friesen, Wallace V., 57
Fromm, Erich, 156, 240
Fuerst, J. S., 460, 475
Fuguitt, Glenn V., 462
Furstenberg, Frank F., 246, 263

Gagnon, John, 130
Galbraith, John Kenneth, 355
Gallese, Liz Roman, 251
Galsworthy, John, 367
Gamson, William A., 334, 501
Gandhi, Raj S., 369, 386
Gans, Herbert J., 330
Gardner, Beatrice T., 57
Gardner, Hugh, 40, 502
Gardner, Martin, 8, 23, 495
Gardner, R. Allen, 57
Garino, David P , 175, 176
Garrison, Howard H., 313
Garrow, David J., 333
Gastil, Raymond D., 332
Gecas, Viktor, 249
Geller, Uri, 7
Gelles, Richard J., 257, 258, 263
Gellhorn, Walter, 225
George, Jean Craighead, 150
George, Linda K., 117
George, Susan, 433
Gerahman, Carl A., 410, 415
Gerson, Menachem, 149, 239, 259
Geschwender, James A., 501
Gettys, W. E., 504
Geyer, R. Felix, 174
Ghandi, Indira, 321
Gibbard, Graham S., 208
Gil, David G., 537
Gilbert, Lucia A., 145
Gilder, George, 151, 328, 339
Gillin, John P., 514
Gintis, Herbert, 114, 307, 312
Gist, Noel P., 457
Glasser, Barney G., 125
Glazer, Nathan, 204, 335, 355, 396, 405, 471
Gleason, John M., 334
Glenn, Norval, 253
Glick, Mark A., 412, 415
Glick, Paul C., 252, 259
Glock, Charles Y., 65, 287
Glueck, Eleanor, 34
Glueck, Sheldon, 34
Goertzel, Ted G., 350
Gold, Martin, 168
Goldberg, Evelyn L., 496
Goldberg, Herb, 151
Goldberg, Phillip A., 194
Goldberg, Stephen, 150, 153
Golden, Amy, 507
Goldman, Marshall L., 322
Goldthorpe, John H., 353
Goleman, Daniel, 125
Gonzalez, Nanci L., 363, 365
Goodall, Jane, 57
Goode, Erich, 181
Goode, William J , 259
Goodwin, Leonard, 336
Gordon, Laura Kramer, 229
Gordon, Leonid, 148
Gordon, Milton, 276, 398, 415
Gordon, Suzanne, 208
Gosnell, Maria, 78
Gossman, Erving, 16, 103, 105, 108, 128, 219
Gottdiener, Mark, 461
Gottesdiener, Marc, 194
Gottlieb, Anne, 142
Gottschalk, Shimon S., 446
Gouldner, Alvin, 38
Gove, Walter J., 175
Grabb, Edward G., 361, 367
Graff, Harvey J., 291
Graham, George P., 229
Grandjean, Burke P., 362
Greeley, Andrew M., 73, 120, 275, 285, 292, 370, 398, 405
Green, Richard, 136
Greenberg, Edward S., 100
Greenberg, Ellen F., 251
Greenberg, Joel, 90
Greenberg, Roger P., 98
Greenberger, Robert S., 144, 413
Greene, Graham, 540
Greenglass, Esther R., 250
Greenwood, Davydd V., 519
Greer, Colin, 114, 307, 312
Greer, Scott, 467
Gregg, Richard B., 333
Grier, Eunice, 464
Grier, George, 464
Griffin, C. W., 451, 459
Griffin, John H., 33
Grinker, Roy R., Jr., 103, 358
Grondahl, Kathryn, 540

Gross, Neil, 537
Gruen, Victor, 461
Guba, Egon G., 35
Guest, Avery M., 466
Guhl, A. M., 55
Guillen, Michael A., 527, 540
Gundlach, James H., 401
Gurian, Waldemar, 287
Gurney, Joan Neff, 501
Gursslin, Orville R., 355
Gussow, Joan Dye, 240
Guttentag, Marcia, 146, 245
Gwatkin, Davidson R., 444

Habenstein, Robert W., 263
Haberstroh, Jac, 499
Hacker, Andrew, 363
Hackett, Herbert, 495
Hadden, Jeffrey K., 276, 282
Hage, Gerald, 177
Hall, Florence Turnbull, 249
Hall, Raymond L., 397
Haller, Archibald O., 97
Halteman, John, 399
Ham, Eviyoung, 454
Hamblin, Robert L., 524
Hamilton, Alexander, 211
Hamilton, Charles V., 397, 415
Handel, Gerald, 103
Handlin, Oscar, 74
Haney, C. Allen, 378
Haney, Craig, 106, 128
Hansel, C. E., 23
Hansen, W. Lee, 376
Hanson, David J., 57
Hanson, Mark, 540
Hanson, R. Galen, 470
Harbison, Georgia, 399
Hardin, Garrett, 81
Hardy, Ronald, 540
Hare, A. Paul, 333
Hareven, Tamara K., 100
Harkins, Elizabeth Bates, 114
Harlow, Harry F., 89, 90, 132
Harlow, Margaret K., 89
Harmon, Harry H., 35
Harris, C. D., 456, 457
Harris, Diana K., 111, 128, 360
Harris, Louis, 42, 461, 462
Harris, Marvin, 150, 493
Harris, Richard J., 372
Hart, John, 135
Hartley, Shirley Foster, 433
Hartman, John J., 208
Hassett, James, 130
Hassinger, Edward W., 452, 475
Haub, Carl, 420
Haug, Marie, 349
Haupt, Arthur, 425
Hauser, Philip M., 420
Hauser, Robert M., 141, 307, 379
Havelock, Ronald G., 537
Hawley, Willis D., 399
Hawrylyshyn, G., 395
Hayanagi, Tadashi, 240
Hayes, Denis, 528, 540
Hearst, Patricia, 120
Hechter, H. H., 405
Heckman, Norma A., 250
Heer, David M., 392
Heilbroner, Robert L., 315, 324, 339, 537
Heilbrun, Alfred B., 150
Heinz, Donald, 287
Heinzerling, Larry, 72
Heiser, Douglas W., 420
Helfgot, Joseph, 331
Helmreich, Robert L., 150
Hemmer, Carl, 433
Henley, Nancy M., 57
Hennessy, Bernard C., 498
Henning, Margaret, 146
Henry, Thomas R., 519
Henslin, James M., 175, 181
Herberg, Will, 398
Herbers, John, 409
Herbert, Muriel, 70
Herbert, Wray, 82, 496, 507
Hermens, Ferdinand A., 333
Herskovitz, Melville J., 536, 540
Herzog, Elizabeth, 255
Herzog, Frederick, 280
Heyl, Barbara Sherman, 128
Heyneman, Stephen T., 306
Higham, John, 487
Hilbary, William E., 100
Hill, Charles T., 248
Hill, Elizabeth A., 256
Hill, Reuben, 46
Hill, W. W., 110
Hiller, Dana V., 387
Hillery, George A., 446

Hindus, Maurice, 253
Hirschi, Travis, 171, 177
Hirschman, Albert O., 510
Hite, Shere, 36
Hobbs, Daryl J., 475
Hodge, Robert W., 349
Hoebel, E. Adamson, 64
Hoess, Rudolf, 190
Hoffer, Eric, 72, 222, 500
Hoffer, Thomas, 292
Hoffman, George W., 518
Hoffman, Lois Wladis, 255
Hoffreth, Sandra L., 249
Hofstadter, Richard, 222
Hofstatter, Elizabeth, 533
Hoge, Dean R., 91, 276
Holazo, Virginia V., 352
Hollander, Anne, 493
Hollander, Paul, 287, 367, 387
Hollingshead, August B., 297, 346, 372
Holmstrom, Lynda Lyttle, 250
Holtzman, Wayne H., 96
Homans, George C., 23, 201
Hooker, Evelyn, 135
Hooper, Earl, 372
Hooton, E. A., 171
Hopkins, Jane, 250
Horn, Joseph M., 81, 82
Hornung, Carlton A., 114
Horoszowski, Pawell, 148, 153, 324
Horowitz, Allan, 175
Horowitz, Bernard, 263
Horowitz, David, 41
Horowitz, Irving Louis, 41, 395, 414, 415, 537
Horton, Donald, 532
Horton, Paul B., 38, 306, 406, 518, 534
Horton, Raymond D., 471
Horton, Robert L., 166, 297
Hosakawa, Bill, 405
Hostettler, John A., 149, 519
Hotaling, Gerald T., 258, 264
Hotchkiss, Sandy, 125
Houck, Oliver A., 322
Houdini, Harry, 23
Hougland, James G., Jr., 375
Houlihan, John, 130
Hoult, Thomas Ford, 4
House, James S., 114
Howard, John R., 163
Howell, Joseph T., 65
Hoyt, Homer, 455
Huang, L. J., 235
Huff, Darrell, 32
Hufstedler, Shirley Mount, 290
Huizinga, J., 537
Humphrey, Norman D., 480, 487, 507
Humphreys, Laud, 135
Huss, John, 530
Hunt, Chester L., 208, 275, 319, 405, 425
Hunt, Janet C., 251, 263, 273
Hunt, Larry, 251, 263, 273
Hunt, Morton, 253
Hunter, Albert, 457
Hunter, Gordon, 415
Huntington, Ellsworth, 83
Hurd, Richard M., 455
Hurley, John R., 253
Huxley, Aldous, 239
Hyman, Herbert H., 356
Hymowitz, Carol, 148

Illich, Ivan D., 291
Imbus, Sharon H., 125
Inglitzin, Lynn B., 140
Ingrassia, Lawrence, 493
Inhelder, Barbel, 100
Inkeles, Alex, 23, 54, 519
Inman, Samuel M., 524
Insel, Paul M., 466
Irons, Edward D., 397
Isaacs, Stephen L., 443, 444
Isaacson, Walter, 507

Jack, Nancy Koplin, 494
Jacklin, Carol Nagy, 137, 153
Jackman, Mary B., 353, 380
Jackman, Robert W., 353, 380
Jackson, Elton F., 356
Jackson, Maurice, 206
Jacobs, Alan H., 205, 209
Jacobs, David, 31, 36, 177, 374
Jacobs, James B., 209
Jacobs, Jane, 461
Jacobsen, Judith, 432
Jacobson, Neil S., 150
Jacques, Jeffrey M., 240
Jaffe, Frederick S., 428
Janis, Irving, 490
Janowitz, Barbara A., 434
Janowitz, Morris, 189

Copyrighted material

Jardim, Anne, 146
Jastrow, Joseph, 23
Jeffrey, Clarence R., 167
Jencks, Christopher, 78, 306, 313, 378, 379, 384
Jewkes, John, 515, 540
Johnson, Benton, 284
Johnson, Coleen Leahy, 250
Johnson, David Richard, 466
Johnson, Donald M., 494
Johnson, Frank, 174
Johnson, Frank Arvid, 250
Johnson, Gregory, 287
Johnson, Lloyd, 296
Johnson, Lyndon B., 501
Johnson, Miriam M., 145, 153
Johnson, Nan E., 359
Johnson, Norris R., 300, 313
Johnson, Samuel, 510
Johnstone, Ronald, 265, 280, 284
Jonassen, Christen T., 446
Jones, A. R., 452
Jones, F. Lancaster, 114
Jones, James W., 30
Jones, Rev. Jim, 283
Jones, Lyle V., 101
Joyce, Richard, 425
Juel-Nielson, Neils, 81
Jung, L. Shannon, 265, 287
Juppenlatz, Norris, 454

Kadushin, Charles, 222
Kagan, Jerome, 62, 89
Kagan, Robert William, 303
Kahn, Alfred J., 537
Kahn, H. A., 28
Kahn, Herman, 432
Kahn, Robert L., 226
Kane, John J., 123
Kanter, Rosabeth Moss, 146, 153
Kantner, John F., 253
Kaplan, Bert, 88
Kaplan, Howard B., 101
Kaplan, Samuel, 461
Karp, David A., 467
Kasselbaum, Gene, 175
Kastenbaum, Robert, 125
Katchadourian, Herant A., 150
Katz, Alfred H., 206, 209
Katz, J., 249
Katz, Jay, 30
Katz, Michael B., 114
Kee, Wan Fook, 436
Keesing, Roger M., 525
Keller, Suzanne, 259
Kelley, Dean M., 282, 287
Kelley, Harold H., 159
Kelly, Michael P., 353
Kelman, Herbert C., 30
Kelman, Steven, 334
Kempe, Frederick, 503
Keniston, Kenneth, 259
Kephart, William M., 181, 263
Kerbo, Harold R., 355, 367
Kerckhoff, Alan C., 495
Kerkvliet, Ben, 534
Kessen, William, 149, 235, 239, 436
Kessner, Thomas, 307
Key, William H., 467
Keyfitz, Nathan, 381, 437
Keynes, John Maynard, 326
Khomeini, Ayatollah, 273
Kidder, Tracy, 538
Kiernan, Bernard P., 320
Kilgore, Sally, 292
Killian, Lewis M., 477, 478, 496, 500, 508
Kilson, Martin J., 406, 409
Kim, Mo-Im, 427
King, Rev. Martin Luther, 501
Kinsey, Alfred C., 134, 135, 165, 168, 253
Kirk, D., 77
Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 329
Kitano, Harry H. L., 405
Klass, Philip J., 23, 495
Klein, Donald C., 472, 473
Kline, David, 449–451
Klopov, Eduard V., 148
Kloss, Robert Marsh, 502, 508
Kluckhohn, Clyde, 81
Kluckhohn, Florence Rockwood, 85
Knittel, Robert E., 472
Knopf, Terry Ann, 487, 492, 507
Knott, Paul D., 486, 488
Kodera, James T., 269
Kohlberg, Lawrence, 100
Kohn, Melvin, 106, 376
Kon, Igor S., 174
Konig, René, 493
Korda, Michael, 387
Kornblum, William, 259
Koszuch, Joyce A., 313
Koza, Patricia, 491

Copyrighted material

Kramer, Daniel I., 433
Kramer, Ralph M., 331, 537
Kranowitz, Leo, 151
Kretschmer, Ernest, 171
Kriesburg, Louis, 350
Krisberg, Barry, 63
Kristol, Irving, 340
Kroeber, A. L., 390
Kronholz, June, 435, 530
Krout, Maurice A., 89, 90
Kube, Ella, 467
Kübler-Ross, Elizabeth, 125
Kuepper, William G., 395
Kuhn, Manford H., 89, 103
Kulik, Jane C., 357
Kumata, Hideya, 521
Kuper, Leo, 394
Kusche, Lawrence, 22, 23
Kutner, Nancy G., 205

Labov, William, 350
Lacar, Luis, 208
Ladd, Everett Carl, Jr., 72, 300, 310
LaFeber, Walter, 320
LaMott, Kenneth, 163
Lampe, Philip E., 277
Lancaster, Jane B., 57
Land, Kenneth C., 362
Landers, Donald, 304
Landers, Donna M., 304
Landon, Margaret, 540
Lane, Angela Victoria, 372, 387
Lang, Gladys Engel, 480, 482, 494
Lang, Kurt, 480, 482, 494
Langer, John, 68, 78
Langford, David, 541
Lansing, Majorie, 137
Lantz, Herman R., 47
Lapidus, Gail Warshofsky, 148
Lapiere, Richard T., 158, 485, 489, 490, 537
Lappé, Frances Moore, 433
Laqueur, Walter, 335, 442, 537
Larkin, Ralph W., 287
Lassey, William R., 540
Lasswell, Harold D., 323
Laszlo, Ervin, 432
Laubach, Gerald D., 310, 313
Lauer, Robert H., 529, 537, 540
Lavin, David E., 293, 312
Leagins, J. Paul, 530
Lebedun, Morty, 496
LeBon, Gustav, 477
Lee, Alfred McClung, 41, 42, 480, 487, 499, 507
Lee, Ann Sarah, 436
Lee, Barrett A., 466
Lee, Dorothy, 520, 541
Lee, Elizabeth Briant, 499
Lehner, Urban C., 166
LeMasters, E. E., 353, 354, 367
Lemert, Edwin M., 174
Lenski, Gerhard M., 54, 114, 360
Lenski, Jean, 54, 360
Leon, Dan, 239, 260
Lerner, Barbara, 303, 313
Lerner, Max, 203
Lerner, Michael, 72
Leslie, Gerald R., 139, 235, 257, 259, 272, 306, 394, 406, 518, 534
Lesser, Alexander, 534
Leventman, Seymour, 68
Lever, H., 191
Levine, Daniel U., 28
Levine, Robert, 71, 145
Levinson, Daniel J., 100
Levinson, Sam, 241
Levitan, Sar A., 47, 263
Leviton, Harvey, 100
Levitt, Theodore, 225
Levy, Marion J., 54
Lewis, Jerry M., 478
Lewis, Lionel S., 362
Lewis, Oscar, 355, 404
Lewis, Sinclair, 22, 158, 367
Leyburn, James G., 447, 519
Lichter, S. Robert, 330, 364
Lieberman, E. James, 253
Lieberson, Stanley, 391, 405, 415, 487
Liebow, Elliott, 65, 409
Lifton, Mark, 181
Lightborne, Robert, Jr., 441
Lin, Nan, 47
Lincoln, Abraham, 211
Lincoln, Yvonne S., 35
Lindsay, William R., 175
Lindesmith, Alfred E., 41
Lindzey, Gardner, 482
Link, Bruce, 175
Linton, Ralph, 78, 86, 87, 109, 123, 233, 258, 515, 516
Lips, Hilary M., 137, 150
Lipset, Seymour Martin, 72, 300, 365

Copyrighted material

The McGraw-Hill Companies

Tata McGraw-Hill
Publishing Company Limited
7 West Patel Nagar, New Delhi 110 008

Visit our website at : www.tatamcgrawhill.com

ISBN 0-07-059396-5

9 780070 593961